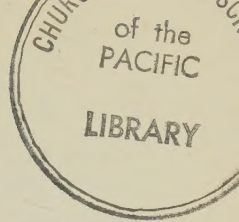


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EDITORIAL

IN THE literary histories of the future it will surely be noted that this was a great era of translation. The measure of change in this respect can be judged from the general realization that the first, and not the last, merit of a translation is to read like an original work. If the translation has failed to carry over the meaning of the original from the old language into the living idiom of the new it has failed.

Sense can be accurately conveyed to the general reader only in the style in which he is accustomed to express his own thoughts. A merely literal translation is not expressed in any idiom at all, and is therefore bound to miss its mark. That is something we have had to learn the hard way. Faith in literalness was beaten into us by our school masters, who were quite properly afraid that we should jump at a meaning without understanding either the construction or the connotation of the words before us. In the case of the scriptures there was the special fear of departing even by so much as a hair's breadth from the full doctrinal significance of key words and passages. But the same kind of fear would stultify the work of translation in any other subject. One may be accurate enough in the rendering of individual words and phrases, and yet give a quite false impression by unwarranted stiffness in rendering a passage as a whole.

All this has to be borne in mind when criticizing the New English Bible, or so much of it as has already come into our hands. It had to be a *new* translation, and that was taken to mean a translation into the characteristic phraseology of to-day. The point has been missed by many critics who have complained that in some respects the old translations were better. One can admit the validity of the judgement without impugning the capacity of translators who were working in the belief that the one thing they must not do was to reproduce the old. If earlier translators had hit upon a phrase of imperishable beauty then that was just too bad for the new translation, for something new must be found to replace what could never be bettered. The aim was not to produce the best possible translation, but to produce one in the current idiom.

After all there is much to be said in favour of such an effort. Even for literary people, the happier phrases of the old versions

become so worn and dull with constant usage that they lose their fine cutting edge. Their essential meaning can best be brought home by the sudden shock of hearing them in the sharp, uncompromising phrase of the day. "Set your troubled hearts at rest. Trust in God always; trust also in me." In such terms the much loved opening of John 14 will no doubt take on a new vividness of meaning for many.

Whether our modern idiom has anything like the same lyrical possibilities as the language of Coverdale's time may be doubted. The Dean of York once contended in these columns that at least it has its own characteristic rhythm. We think we can catch an echo of it in the narrative portions of the new translation and perhaps also in the epistles, but we sadly confess that we fail to find it in the canticles. "This day, Master, thou givest thy servant his discharge in peace." Where is the lyrical quality in that?

The poetical passages seem to be the supreme test of every biblical translator. That is the point where Knox broke down so badly. One cannot feel that in this respect the new translators have done much better. They have been so busy getting the exact rendering of the Greek that they have lost the quality of poetry. It is much to be hoped that in dealing with the Old Testament they will not interpret their terms of reference quite so strictly and that they will allow themselves to be affected by the best of the earlier translations. That will be terribly important when it is a question of the psalms. Knox failed there because he definitely hated the Authorized Version and all that led up to it. One is quite certain that the present translators have no such blind spot. We hope they will not allow themselves to be blinkered by any self-constituted outside authority.

Nothing is easier than to criticize translations, especially the translations of such familiar works as the Bible. In this case we are not criticizing the work of the translators, for which we have considerable admiration, so much as the terms under which they are labouring. It was probably a good thing not to allow the new translation to be based on either the Revised or the Authorized Version, but there might have been found some mean between such dependence and the present emphasis on complete newness. It is not that one objects to change for the sake of change, for it may be necessary from time to time to alter the sound of an ancient formula in order to make its meaning bite to the bone.

There is an element of virtue in mere novelty. But in the case of the scriptures one ought to have a certain reverence for the numinous atmosphere that surrounds the reading of the older versions. That numinous quality is derived not only from the subject matter but also, perhaps by long association, from the form of words. For most worshippers the old-fashioned Bible wears a halo. We incur the risk of breaking it with every fresh translation.

This point would not be so important if it were not evident that the new Bible is intended to be read in public. The dispute about authorization makes that clear. Whether any formal authorization is either desirable or necessary may be doubted. Certainly some sort of authority over the scriptures read in church ought to be maintained. (We were once treated at early service in a village church to a version of the epistle which by implication denied the rights of bishops to exist.) But we should have thought that a mild indication from the diocesan that the reading of the new Bible in the daily office would not be regarded as actionable would be quite sufficient. It is very important to find out what is the reaction of the laity to the new version when read from the lectern. That is the only way of discovering whether the new style of language can bear the weight of the official proclamation of the gospel. If the experiment is successful it will probably have a great effect on preaching style and on public oratory in general.

Whatever may be its fortunes in this more formal and official field, and whatever may be its merits or demerits in detailed instances, there should be no doubt at all that the new version will be of priceless value for private reading. The way has been well paved for it by all the modern versions of individual translators. They have helped to disabuse the public mind of the belief that God's truth can only be conveyed in stilted and antiquated language. People are no longer afraid of hearing the eternal verities described in the language of every day. But hitherto they have been left to the vagaries of individual scholars. Now at last they have a version in their own natural language backed by the authority of the best scholarship that all the churches can produce in common. When the tumult and the shouting dies we shall still realize that its appearance is a great event.

THE MARCAN FEEDING NARRATIVES

ALAN SHAW

A SHORT time ago, while looking through some notes of lectures given in Oxford in 1941 by the late Professor R. H. Lightfoot, the following tabulated comparison, given by the lecturer, illustrating the two feedings of the multitude in St Mark, came to notice. It suggested the possibility that there remained something to be discovered about the relationship between the two narratives and the Last Supper and also the Eucharist of the Church; though the notes themselves gave no hint of this.

The comparison is printed below exactly as it was given in the course of the lecture, with the addition, in *italics*, of some further comparisons not included by Dr Lightfoot.

	Mark 6	Mark 8
1. Numbers	5 loaves and 2 fishes. 5,000 men. 12 Κοφίνων	7 loaves and a few fishes. 4,000 men. 7 στυρίδας
2. Time and situation.	Evening on first day of gathering. There are villages near. <i>"Green grass"</i> .	No reference to evening and crowd has been 3 days with Jesus. No local help possible. <i>No mention of green grass.</i>
3. Initiative.	With disciples.	With Jesus.
4. Character of the action.	Action advances mysteriously and secretly.	The Lord's purpose is manifest from the first, and the only note of mystery is suggested by the disciples' question in verse 4, in which, as throughout in chapter 6, there is reference to the wilderness.
5. Terminology.	Εὐλόγησε 6. 41.	Εὐχαριστήσας 8. 6. Εὐλογήσας 8. 7.

Is it possible that this tabulated comparison shows up a parallel between the Last Supper and the Eucharist of the Church, the Last Supper being associated in the writer's intention principally with the first feeding and the Eucharist of the Church principally with the second feeding?

It is widely recognized that the meals, in St Mark's description, carry pointers linking them with the Last Supper in his account;

and writers of diverse outlooks have seen the two narratives in terms of the ritual of the Eucharist of the Church. That there is an interplay of meaning between the two accounts of the Feedings of the Multitude, the account of the Last Supper, and the fact of the Eucharist of the Church is not a new suggestion. It is the purpose of this article to try to define more precisely the points of illumination of this important topic which St Mark provides by his careful and reciprocal construction of the events he describes.

1. Numbers

The first point in the table above concerns the numbers involved, and on this subject a great deal has been written. The interpretation of the distinction in the numbers that has long held may be summed up in the assertion that the feeding of the five thousand, with the twelve Κοφίνων of fragments left unused symbolizes the giving of the bread of life to the Jews, and the feeding of the four thousand, with the seven σπυρίδας left over symbolizes the feeding of the seven nations of the Gentiles. On mere numbers this conclusion might appear a little insecure, and perhaps it would not have been arrived at were it not apparently supported by the geographical considerations involved in the narratives. The extensive numerological investigations of Dr Farrer lead him to conclusions which, though much wider in their ramifications, are not dissimilar. "The parallel between the multiplication of corn and the multiplication of bread is not merely formal", he writes. ". . . There is abundance of supernatural bread and abundance of recipients, even though Messiah is to be rejected by Israel; the Gospel is turned towards the Gentiles and the more extended."¹

There can be little doubt that the place of the Gentiles in the Church is one of the themes of this part of St Mark's Gospel. The long section on clean and unclean, 7.1-23, and the exorcism of the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter, 7. 24-30, which are sandwiched between the two feedings, are on the same general topic, and the latter is deliberately used by St Mark as a pointer to the significance of the second feeding. For he carefully ties up this story with the two feedings by his use of the verb Χορτάζω in all three stories, 6. 42, 7. 27, 8. 8; and the Syro-Phoenician's daughter is a story which asserts that Gentiles who accept the authority of Christ may eat at the Lord's Table. ✓

The geographical detail of Mark is perhaps sketchy, but it does not seem to be possible to quarrel with the general assertion that the first feeding took place in Jewish territory, and that those who were fed were Jews, whereas the second took place in Gentile territory, and that those who partook were Gentiles, or perhaps, Jews and Gentiles.

The implication of all this may be taken to be that St Mark was concerned to make his readers understand that Jesus himself authorized the admission of Gentiles to the Eucharist of the Church. If this were so, the failure of the disciples' numerical understanding recounted in the very difficult passage in the boat, 8. 14-21, would seem to be a reflection of the failure of St Mark's readers in Rome to grasp the truth that believing Gentiles were equally acceptable to partake with themselves at the Lord's Table. The passage about clean and unclean and the account of the Syro-Phoenician's daughter compel us to recognize that there must have been a problem of Jewish-Gentile relationships, and that some at least of the Jewish-Christian community in Rome were slow to recognize the admission of Gentiles to the altar: but is it likely that this is all that the emphasis on Gentiles in the second feeding was intended to convey; and is it only this that the disciples fail to understand in the boat?

Let us look back again at the table and state the foregoing discussion on the first count as follows:

The first feeding is of Jews on Jewish territory: the second feeding is of (Jews and) Gentiles on Gentile territory, and is concerned with the admission of Gentiles to the Lord's Table.

In juxtaposition to that we may place two sentences of comment that would perhaps seem to be obvious, but which, for the record of the comparison, ought to be stated:

The Last Supper was the Passover of the Messiah with the representatives of his people, in Jerusalem, the centre of the Jewish world. Already by the time of St Mark, the Eucharist was being celebrated in Gentile countries far and wide, and Gentiles were partakers of the Lord's Table.

2. Time and situation

The first feeding takes place in the evening on the first day of the gathering. In the second feeding there is no indication of the

time of day, but the only note of time given is the statement "already they continue with me three days".

We may comment that the Last Supper took place in the evening, and that most likely at an early date the Eucharist began to be held at some other time than that of the evening communal meal. The difficulties of which St Paul writes in 1 Cor. 11 may be connected with this alteration, and the Breaking of Bread at Troas described in Acts 20. 7, 11, did not take place until well after midnight.

What are we to make of the reference to "three days"? The second feeding took place after the crowd had been with Jesus three days. It is difficult for us not to associate with the Resurrection any reference to three days in connection with our Lord. If, as is generally accepted, 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4 is a quotation of regular apostolic teaching, then it may well be that the readers of St Mark would make the same association. Indeed when St Mark himself picks up the very same words to speak of the Resurrection twenty-nine verses later and repeats them at intervals in the two succeeding chapters, it is difficult to see that his readers could fail to make the connection. It may be noted that St Mark does not say, τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, as well he might, following, e.g. 1 Cor. 15, but he says, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, reflecting the form in which he has cast 8. 2. This reflection is maintained in each Passion prediction.

It could be that for St Mark's readers the reference to three days would be sufficient to connect in their minds the second feeding with their own regular Breaking of Bread on the first day of the week, but it is perhaps more precisely St Mark's intention to associate the second feeding in the mind of his readers with the period after the Resurrection, which is the period of Jesus in his Eucharist, as opposed specifically to the Last Supper,

Again, if the reference to green grass, 6. 39, has any significance of time, it may well indicate that the season was early, around Passover time. The second meal bears no reference at all to the season. Whereas the Last Supper took place at the Passover season, the Eucharist of the Church takes place at all seasons.

We will defer consideration of the proximity of the villages to the desert place in the first, and the impossibility of securing local help in the second feeding, to the next section.

3. Initiative

In chapter 6 it is the initiative of the disciples which sets the scene for the miraculous feeding, for they approach Jesus (verse 35) and suggest the dismissal of the crowds. In 8. 1, 2 Jesus himself expresses his compassion for the multitude and so leads into the preliminaries to the miraculous action, obviously knowing what he intends to do.

We might perhaps suppose that at the Last Supper the initiative could be said to have been taken by our Lord; and at the Eucharist of the Church, the initiative might be thought to be, figuratively speaking, with the Lord's disciples, since his physical presence is withdrawn. If we refer to 14. 12 we see that this is not the case; that is not how St Mark sees it. Contrary to our expectation it is the disciples who take the initiative at the Last Supper, and they go into the city which, like the villages in chapter 6, is near enough at hand, and there make ready a meal.

We may perhaps presume to suppose, if the parallel holds, that St Mark regarded the initiative in the Eucharist of the Church to be with Jesus, since it is his death, which has now happened, that is shown forth. This notion is perhaps strengthened by 8. 3 which seems to imply that now everything centres on Jesus, since no help from any other source is possible.

4. Character of the action

In chapter 6 the action of the narrative advances mysteriously and almost in an atmosphere of secrecy. No one knows what is going to happen, and the narrative does not reveal it until the miracle is accomplished. In chapter 8, however, the only suggestion of mystery is the obtuseness of the disciples in verse 4. Apart from this, the narrative conveys clearly that Jesus is fully in command of the situation, and his purpose and intention is clear from the outset. Jesus is fully in control and everything centres on him.

The action of the Last Supper also, like the first feeding, is shrouded in mystery and secrecy. A secret and mysterious arrangement has been made to provide a room, and the two disciples go quietly to make ready. Jesus arrives, after dark, with the Twelve. There follows the mysterious denunciation of a traitor of undisclosed identity. In this almost furtive atmosphere is set the institution of the Eucharist with its strange confidence of the imparting of a total and overwhelming gift, and its strange promise

of a future bond between Jesus and his disciples in a new community.

Again, if the parallel is valid we are left to fill in the fourth term of the comparison. In the first feeding and at the Last Supper the action proceeds mysteriously and in an air of secrecy. In the second feeding the Lord's purpose is manifest, and his centrality in the story is clear. What shall we say then of the Eucharist of the Church? Obviously that in the Eucharist of the Church the purpose of the Eucharist, and of Christ in his Eucharist, is known and is clear to his worshippers. Or ought we to say that in the Eucharist of the Church the purpose of the Eucharist, and of Christ in his Eucharist, *should be* clear to his worshippers. Perhaps one of the difficulties of St Mark's readers was that they did not understand the Eucharist as well as they should.

5. Terminology

Some further light may be thrown on the validity of the parallel we have been assuming to exist by the actual Greek words used at the critical moment of each miracle of Feeding.

In 6. 41 the verb used of blessing the loaves is εὐλογέω. In 8. 6 the verb used in the corresponding place is εὐχαριστέω; but here in the second feeding the participle of εὐλογέω is used of the fish.

In the account of the Last Supper, εὐλογέω is used of the loaf, 14. 22, εὐχαριστέω of the cup, 14. 23. We do not know whether St Mark and his readers would speak of the Holy Communion as a εὐχαριστία. Possibly 1 Cor. 14. 16, 17 might indicate that the idea would not be unfamiliar. Such references as 1 Cor. 10. 16, 14, 16a, Luke 24. 30 might indicate on the other hand that εὐλογέω was the word most commonly associated with the Lord's action at the Last Supper and the Eucharist of the Church. 1 Cor. 11. 24 might argue the opposite. Such evidence is quite inconclusive.

It is most likely St Mark and his readers would use the term, "the Breaking of the Bread" to describe the Eucharist of the Church; and indeed in St Mark the emphasis throughout is on the loaves. Bread, bread broken, is the common term of both feeding narratives and the Last Supper. On this showing St Mark uses the eucharistic term only of the second feeding, and ties the first feeding to the Last Supper by the use of εὐλογέω. This may well be considered sufficient evidence to indicate that St Mark wishes to make a connection between the first breaking of bread, in chapter

6, and the Last Supper, and to indicate that he wishes us to draw a distinction between the first and second breakings of bread. To be certain that he wishes us to associate the second feeding with the Eucharist of the Church we should have to know that St Mark and his readers were familiar with the eucharist term to describe the Holy Communion. Since, however, we do not know this, and are perhaps not likely to know it, it is relevant to ask what distinction St Mark could have been expecting his readers to draw between the two breakings of bread in chapters 6 and 8; and since he has carefully tied the first to the Last Supper, with what is the second to be associated?

It may, of course, be said that both miracles of feeding are associated with the Last Supper, and this is indeed true. But St Mark, who is always notably careful in his choice of words, has put up another signpost to his readers, for if, as may be supposed, the fish and the cup are interchangeable terms, St Mark has carefully reversed the crucial words at the second feeding. Or rather, he carefully avoided in chapter 8 the same use of words that he is going to make in chapter 14. In chapter 8 it is εὐχαρστέω of the bread, εὐλογέω of the fish. In chapter 14 it is εὐλογέω of the bread, εὐχαριστέω of the cup. It is as though St Mark were saying, "You will notice a connection between both these miracles and the Last Supper, but I am deliberately reversing the terms in chapter 8 to tell you that you must also direct your gaze elsewhere and make some other association besides the Last Supper with what I am describing here." It may be allowed that while St Mark's readers could be expected to pick up the point made above in the preceding paragraph on a first reading or hearing, they could hardly be expected to grasp this point unless they also sat down to study what they had read.²

If then St Mark is drawing a parallel between the first feeding and the Last Supper, and the second feeding and the Eucharist of the Church, for what purpose would he be doing it?

The account of the Last Supper in St Mark is a somewhat bald narrative. There is little to explain its meaning or significance, except the four-fold reiteration of the word, "Passover", in 14. 12-16.

So when St Mark clearly ties the account of the Feeding of the Multitude to the Last Supper, it is to be presumed that he has a didactic or explanatory purpose. The basic significance of the

meals is that, reflecting Jewish prophetic and apocalyptic writing, they represent the banquet of Messiah with his people. Those who partake are brought within the supernatural order of salvation which the coming of Messiah inaugurates.

Both of the incidents in the boat, which succeed each of the accounts, seem to confirm that St Mark is making an explanatory use of the feeding narratives, for both are didactic in character. The first of these incidents concerns an appearance of the Lord to his disciples and their "recognition" of him. But the disciples in fact fail to recognize Jesus, and their failure St Mark associates in 6. 52 with their lack of insight about the loaves. The implication would seem to be that through the loaves Christ comes to succour them with his presence and they should recognize him as the dispenser of life in God's Kingdom now come. (There is a curious similarity between Mark 6. 48 and Luke 24. 28.) If this is so, and it is difficult to see any other logic in what he has written, St Mark is really saying, "In the Breaking of Bread the presence of Christ is recognized by us, and through this action, he meets our need; we are incorporated into that order of salvation which he came to bring."

This is a formidable piece of eucharistic doctrine, and the question could be asked, "What more can St Mark teach us by including a second meal so similar in character?" Indeed it may be thought that St Mark himself would not have found it necessary to teach more on this point. Clearly St Luke and St John thought one feeding story sufficient for this purpose. The point may also be made that St Mark has already in the minds of his readers associated his teaching in the first feeding and its pendant boat narrative with the Eucharist of the Church, for they will themselves have realized that the first feeding is something recognizably the same as that for which they meet on the first day of the week when they read or heard, ". . . and looking up to heaven, he blessed and brake the loaves; and he gave to the disciples to set before them". It is to be presumed that they would associate both feedings with their own weekly Breaking of Bread, and would make their association with the Last Supper when they came to chapter 14. How then can the distinction we have made between the two feedings be maintained?

It is true that the eucharistic doctrine which St Mark imparts in the first feeding story and its pendant might, from our point of

view, be considered sufficient, but the fact is that St Mark carefully and deliberately introduces a second similar story. Surely he does not do so just to repeat himself.

In chapter 8 other themes are involved than direct eucharistic teaching. Considering the comparison of numbers and geographical disposition, and considering the relation of the narrative of the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter to the feeding narratives, it must be allowed that the position of Gentiles in the Church and the attitude of Jewish Christians towards them is one of the points at issue in the questions asked by Jesus of the disciples in the boat, 8. 17-21. It is to be expected that what is said on this theme in chapter 8 will, however, have progressed from what is said on it in chapter 7. The point there made was that any Gentile who accepts the authority of Christ may partake of his table. In chapter 8, we see Gentiles in fact doing so, but our attention is called, by the catechism in the boat, to the significance of the quantities left over. This is what would be noticed on a first reading or hearing. In 8. 14-21 the emphasis is principally upon this point, for the failure of the disciples to understand is associated with the quantities remaining. In other words, the general sense is that there is an abundance of that which Jesus dispenses still to be disbursed. The first boat narrative underlines the basic eucharistic teaching. The second boat narrative is a missionary exhortation in association with the loaves. That which all men need Christ has prepared, and he will give it—How? The disciples do not understand how. They cannot yet understand. They are like the half-healed blind man of Bethsaida, the account of the restoration of whose sight immediately follows, 8. 22-6.

They cannot yet be healed because they have something yet to learn about the character of the work of the Christ. What they have to learn comes next, 8. 27-33, and contains the promise of salvation, verse 31. When will their healing be completed? At the end of the three days. When they have seen the Passion through and the Resurrection has happened, then they will understand. In the time after the Resurrection they will dispense to all men that which Christ has provided. They will no longer need to ask, "Shall we go and buy two-hundred pennyworth of bread and give them to eat?" or, "Whence shall one be able to fill these men with loaves here in a desert place?" They will know that he has provided, and has provided sufficient "for many", cf. 10. 45, 14. 24.

The progress that chapter 8 has made from chapter 7 in respect of the Gentiles is the implication that it is not right for disciples living now after the Resurrection to be content merely to allow Gentiles to the salvation administered in the Eucharist. The salvation made available by the death and Resurrection of Jesus *must* be extended to all men in the Eucharist. A very similar point is made in John 21. 1-14.

St Mark has then added to the basic eucharistic teaching of chapter 6 further doctrine of what may be called the catholicity of the Eucharist in chapter 8. This he could not have done without associating the second feeding miracle in the minds of his readers with the period after the Resurrection, the period in which they were living. To-day we make the transition easily from the Last Supper and the death of Christ to the Eucharist of the Church; but would St Mark's readers have made it so easily? St Paul had to give his Corinthian friends a fairly forceful reminder about the character of the Eucharist: 1 Cor. 10. 16; and such teachings are to be found in the Apostolic Fathers.

It is true that the terms in which the second feeding is cast would (as with the first) have reminded St Mark's readers of their own weekly Breaking of Bread, but it seems that St Mark wanted to emphasize in his narrative of the second feeding the particular implications of their own Eucharist. He seems to want to objectify certain things for them. So he makes a passing reference to the three days, the importance of which is seen when we come to the three Passion predictions shortly afterwards. He emphasizes the centrality of the action of Christ in the Eucharist of the Church: that the salvation which is imparted through the Eucharist is Christ's gift; and that it comes to them now only because Christ was killed and rose again after three days. All the grace of life and salvation made available by Christ's decease and resurrection is given to them through the Breaking of the Bread. Lastly he brings under emphasis the missionary implications of the Eucharist.

Much, if not all, of this eucharistic doctrine we assume. It comes easily to us, and not a little from the work of Sir Edwyn Hoskyns on St John. The sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St John bears obvious reflections of the Marcan feeding narratives. St Mark has not the clear theological articulation of St John; but in the carefully constructed comparisons of the two narratives of the

Feeding of the Multitudes St Mark has made it sufficiently clear that he has much eucharistic doctrine for our learning.

¹ A. M. Farrer, *St. Matthew and St. Mark*, p. 94.

² For what sort of a "public" was St Mark writing? Most of those who would become familiar with his gospel would probably hear it, either liturgically or in other ways. Those who would get to know it by reading would probably have both desire and opportunity to study what they read.

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

E. L. MASCALL

(continued)

BY FAR the most significant of these modern Protestant writers is Frère Max Thurian of the Community of Taizé, whose book *L'Eucharistie* appeared in 1959; he describes it as a work of "liturgical theology". The greater part of the book consists of an extremely detailed study of the sacrificial language of the Old Testament, as providing the key for the understanding of the redemptive work of Christ and of the Eucharist. Arguing for a basic interchangeability and identity of meaning between the Hebrew words *zikkaron* and *azkarah* and their Septuagint counterparts *anamnesis* and *mnemosunon*, he sees Christ's command "Do this as my *anamnesis*" as constituting the Eucharist as a memorial before God.¹ We may compare with this the rather different nuance of Dr Joachim Jeremias's rendering "Do this that God may remember me";² both writers exclude any idea of commemoration before man or of psychological "calling to mind".

In the Eucharist [Thurian writes] the Church wills to recall to God the unique sacrifice of the sole Righteous Man, Jesus Christ; the Lord, faithful to his promise, and because of the perfection of this sacrifice, replies to the Church by filling it with blessings in the Body of his Son.³

The "once-for-all" of Christ's sacrifice, he tells us, must not be interpreted in a past or static sense: "The expression signifies rather the absolute, definitive and perpetual character of the sacrifice of Christ; it does not imply a unique instant with no repercussion (except for repetition) under the diverse modes which recall and actualise it"; it is explained by the *eis to dienekes* of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and is equivalent to "for eternity".⁴ We are reminded that in Hebrew thought, God is blessed by the recalling and recitation of his favours; hence presentation before God is the essence of Eucharist.⁵ The Eucharist, Thurian tells us:

is not an independent sacrifice, having its efficacy in itself. It draws all its power from the unique oblation of Christ, which it represents, presents and makes present. The Eucharist is a sacrifice in the sense that it is the presence of Christ crucified, glorified and interceding,

who presents for us today his unique sacrifice before the face of the Father. The Eucharist is a sacrifice because it is one with the heavenly intercession of Christ, which is itself the perpetual continuance of the sacrifice of the Cross. The Eucharist presents to the Father the unique sacrifice of the Son on the Cross, in communion with Christ's own heavenly intercession. Thus there is one sole oblation of the Body of Jesus Christ under three aspects:

- (a) the unique and perfect sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, a historical act, the foundation of salvation.
- (b) the heavenly and perpetual sacrifice of Christ in intercession, an eternal act, the continued existence (*actualisation*, French) of salvation.
- (c) the memorial and sacramental sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, a liturgical act, the sacrament of salvation.⁶

And the Eucharist itself is a sacrifice for three reasons:

It is the sacramental *presence* of the sacrifice of the Cross by the power of the Holy Spirit and the Word, and the liturgical *presentation* of this sacrifice of the Son by the Church to the Father, as a *thanksgiving* for all his blessings and in *intercession* for their continuation.

It is the *participation* by the Church in the intercession of the Son before the Father in the Holy Spirit, for the *application* of *salvation* to all men and the coming of the *Kingdom* in glory.

It is the *offering* which the Church makes of herself to the Father, united to the sacrifice and the intercession of the Son, as her supreme *adoration* and her perfect *consecration* in the Holy Spirit.⁷

The *anamnesis* made in the Eucharist is all-inclusive:

The Eucharistic memorial is a recall (*rappel*) made to us, a recall made by us to the Father, and a recall made by the Son to the Father for us. Thus the Eucharistic memorial is a proclamation to the Church, a thanksgiving and an intercession of the Church, and a thanksgiving and an intercession of Christ for the Church.⁸

The Eucharist is seen as fulfilling the Rabbinic tradition that of all the sacrifices of the Law the sacrifice of praise would alone continue in the Kingdom of the Messiah.⁹ And Thurian is a strong advocate of the Catholic practice of offering the Eucharist with special intentions:

To name a being in a *memento* at the Eucharist is to unite it to Christ, in order to present it with him under the eyes of the Father; it is to place it, in some way, at the foot of the Cross, so that it may

receive freedom and blessing. In this sense, the celebration of the Eucharist with specific intention has a profoundly Biblical significance.¹⁰

Thurian has the strongest conviction of the communion of Saints in the one Body of Christ. He distinguishes sharply between our prayer *for* the living and our prayer *with* the saints, even when the same form of words is used for both; but he does not seem to distinguish between the Church expectant and the Church triumphant. Commenting on the formula "Let us pray for . . ." in the fifth-century document called *The Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ*, he writes :

The formula "Let us pray for . . ." has three meanings here: to pray for peace, faith, unity or patience is to pray in order to obtain these graces; to pray for the Apostles, prophets and confessors is to make a memorial of them, to ask that we may share the graces which they received and to be "rendered worthy of their heritage"; to pray for the bishop, priests, deacons etc is to intercede for them, to ask for them the graces necessary for their life, their ministry and the Church.¹¹

And again :

The memorial of Mary and of all the saints, their consecration in faith, charity, works and prayer, is thus as it were an intercession which the Church presents with her own, as her own, by reason of the communion of the Body of Christ. The commemoration of the saints in the Liturgy is thus not primarily or solely a reminder in order to stimulate the faithful by their example; it is first and foremost a communion, in one praise and one intercession, of the departed saints, whose memorial of faith, charity, works and prayer subsists before God, and of the Church, which presents this memorial with its own prayer. . . . This memorial of the saints finds its place most specially at the moment when the Church, celebrating the Eucharist, presents the memorial *par excellence*, that of Christ. It is in Christ, taken into the Eucharistic memorial of Christ, that the memorial of the saints, united to the prayer of the Church, rises as an adoration and an intercession to the Father.¹²

And once more :

In presenting the Body of Christ [the Church] includes therein all the members of that Body, all the saints who have lived and died in the hope of that return of Christ which was promised them.¹³

Though himself a Calvinist, Thurian is extremely critical of Calvin's Eucharistic theology, with its quasi-local conception of the heavenly exaltation of Christ.

In his exposition of the real presence, Calvin seems to have too carnal a conception of the Body of Christ. Attached firmly to the human nature of Jesus Christ, Calvin does not see adequately the difference of state between the living and suffering Christ from the Annunciation to Calvary and the risen and glorious Christ from Easter to the Ascension and in eternity. He identifies too much the state of the crucified and of the glorified Christ.¹⁴

In consequence of his restricted notion of the Body of Christ, Calvin localises the Body in heaven, in a very anthropomorphic way, inviting us to "lift our hearts on high to heaven" to find there our Saviour who cannot be "lowered to us, to be enclosed in corruptible elements".¹⁵

Thurian contrasts a "Protestant extremism" which "situates the fact of salvation in a historic past to which we have to return by faith" with a "Catholic extremism" which "holds to the power transmitted to the Church in the apostolic past, a power which allows it an infinite series of acts of redemption". "In these two extreme theological positions", he significantly remarks, "we find the same notion of salvation as a past history, to which we must either return by faith (Protestants) or which is transmitted by the sacrament (Catholics). A balanced Christian theology holds that in Christ the historic redemption is made present (*s'actualise*) in both faith and the sacrament. The Church, uniting itself by the Eucharist to the heavenly intercession of Christ, unites itself to him as crucified and so makes present (*actualise*) the historic act of redemption in order to apply it to present-day man, who receives it in faith and by faith."¹⁶

Indeed we may note that Thurian recognizes that the Eucharistic doctrine of the Council of Trent itself excluded the chief errors of late medieval Eucharistic doctrine and practice, and he approves of Du Moulin's readiness to accept Trent's description of the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice.¹⁷ He emphatically accuses Protestant theologians of often falling into the very errors which they professedly reject.

Even expressions such as "sacrifice of thanksgiving" or "sacrifice of praise" can sometimes give the impression that our thanksgiving and our praise have some value in themselves. Those who use them with

a polemical intention against the doctrine of the Mass do not always recognise that they may well defeat their own purposes. To avoid or combat the idea of a repetition or a complement of the sacrifice of Christ, they may find themselves entertaining the idea of a Christian sacrifice which is possible as a simple response to the gift of God; whereas not only are we incapable by ourselves of giving anything of value to God but we are also, on account of our weakness, incapable of responding to his gifts as we should.¹⁸

Finally it is of interest to note that Thurian sees a much closer connection than the other Protestant writers whom we have considered between the Body and Blood of Christ and the Eucharistic elements. Benoit, commenting on the new Calvinist liturgy, writes: "The descent of the Holy Spirit is invoked not upon the bread and wine, but on the faithful, as living people. The bread and wine remain bread and wine, and have nothing to do with the divine action. The Holy Spirit acts upon persons and not upon things."¹⁹ Baillie, while acquitting the doctrine of transubstantiation as defined by St Thomas of teaching any crudely localized presence, himself conceives the eucharistic presence as being "presence to the faith of the receiver".²⁰ Even Leenhardt writes: "This bread is truly the body of Christ in the celebration of the rite, because it is as such that Christ presents it at that moment; it does not remain such outside this active presentation."²¹ And again: "This bread is the Body of Christ because Christ makes use of this bread. Outside this action it is only bread."²² Thurian is far less dogmatic, when he writes:

After the Eucharistic celebration, completed by the communion of all the faithful, and even the sick among them, the real relation between Christ and the Eucharistic species which remain is a mystery which must be respected.

The end of the Eucharist being the communion ("Take, eat . . . Drink ye all of this. . . ."), I cannot allow myself to define the nature of the relation of Christ with the Eucharistic species which remain after the communion has taken place. It is not for us to pronounce upon the persistence of the real presence, any more than upon its cessation. The mystery must be respected. In this attitude of respect, it is fitting that the Eucharistic species should be consumed after the celebration. Neglect in this matter compromises faith in the real presence, while a balanced attitude of respect is a sign that one believes truly in the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and that at least the material support of this presence has

a right to our respect. If we believe in the efficacy of the Word of Christ, we must believe that it does not leave in a state of indifference the creatures to which it extends.²³

Although it was written earlier than Thurian's book, it will, I think, be useful to conclude this section of our discussion with some reference to a volume by the well-known Swedish theologian Dr Gustaf Aulén, formerly Bishop of Strängnäs, which was published in Swedish in 1956 and appeared in an English translation in America in 1958 under the title *Eucharist and Sacrifice*. Aulén begins by describing in terms of warm appreciation the new insights that have been brought to bear in recent years, especially by Roman Catholic and Anglican theologians, upon the nature of sacrifice in general and the relation between the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrament of the Eucharist. He then re-examines the teaching of the Reformers, and in particular of Luther (he is himself, of course, a Lutheran), after which he reconsiders in detail the evidence of the New Testament. He insists that "what the New Testament primarily wants to say is that the sacrifice of Christ was finished in his death",²⁴ and he is very suspicious of those theologians, some of whom are Anglicans, who speak of Christ's sacrifice as continuing in heaven or say that in the Eucharist "we offer Christ's sacrifice".

We are indebted to the Anglican theologians [he says] for their strong accentuation of the high priestly perspective, which has not always been given due recognition. It is also proper that they have emphasised the connection between the eternal priesthood of Christ in heaven and the celebration of the Eucharist on earth. However, there may be some risks connected with this interpretation of his office as High Priest in heaven. The conception of Christ as the One who continually serves at the heavenly altar tends to suggest that the heavenly "offering" is of the same type as his sacrifice here on earth "in the days of his flesh", that it is a continuation of this sacrifice, and that it has the same significance. . . . Through the exaltation God has spoken his "yes" to the sacrifice made once for all. He does not continue to offer his Son, and the Son does not continue as the Suffering Servant of the Lord to give himself as he did during his earthly life.²⁵

I may perhaps remark in passing that this criticism does not seem to me to be in the least valid against the view which I have myself

defended and to which Aulén himself refers favourably,²⁶ according to which in the Eucharist nothing whatever is *added* to the earthly sacrificial work of Christ but the whole of that sacrificial work is *made sacramentally present*. Indeed something very like this seems to be asserted in a remarkably eloquent passage in which Aulén expounds his own teaching:

If the sacrifice offered once for all is eternally valid and relevant, and if it is one with Christ who is himself the sacrifice, then the presence of Christ in the sacrament includes the effective presence of his sacrifice. It is not a question of recalling something which happened two thousand years ago on Golgotha. The past is here, too, the present, as the Lord himself makes the past and eternally valid sacrifice contemporaneous with us. As the Lord on that last evening of his life presented the sacrifice which was momentarily to be made, and which signified the last act in his total sacrificial activity, and as he included his disciples in his sacrifice and united them with it, so also he includes his present disciples in the sacrifice which is eternally valid and eternally effective, and makes them partakers of the blessings flowing from the sacrament. It is significant that the effective presence of the sacrifice of Christ in the eucharist has been emphasised in the ecumenical discussions, not least by the Anglicans. In view of this fact we must insist that the presence of the sacrifice is inseparably connected with the presence of the living Lord. The real presence and the sacrifice belong together. *This sacrifice is present because the living Lord is present. But the living Lord cannot be present without actualising his sacrifice.*²⁷

This is quite admirable. But, Aulén adds, "the Anglo-Catholic theologians do not want to speak only of the presence of the sacrifice in the sacrament; they want to connect this sacrifice of Christ with our action by formulas such as: with the eucharistic elements we 'offer Christ' or 'offer his sacrifice', so that we thus participate in that sacrifice which he himself offers at the heavenly altar."²⁸ And while he exonerates such theologians as Dr A. M. Ramsey and Fr Gabriel Hebert from any suspicion of belittling the sufficiency of Christ's death, he plainly holds such formulas to be totally illegitimate, and he somewhat weakly suggests that they are prized from a belief that they are, in some emotionally charged sense, "catholic".

Now I must admit that I am not myself particularly enamoured of the phrases complained of, for they seem to me to result, not

indeed, as Aulén appears to think, from a belittling of Christ's death, but from something equally undesirable, namely forgetfulness of the union between Christ and his members. As I shall argue in the concluding section of this article, the correct formula seems to me to be that the Whole Christ offers the Whole Christ. I am not, however, at all sure that this formula would be any more acceptable to Aulén than those which he explicitly rejects. There may be a real stumbling-block here which did not appear in some of the Protestants whom we have already considered, and I believe it is connected with the fact that their background is Calvinist, while Aulén's is Lutheran. Nevertheless, Aulén asserts without qualification that

the Lord's Supper is the church's eucharist, its great service of thanksgiving, in which the church of Christ on earth unites its humble offering of praise with the great paean of praise in heaven. The Lord's Supper is the church's incomparable act of prayer in which we include our prayers in the intercession of our great High Priest.²⁹

And his Lutheran emphasis upon the real presence in the elements, while he dislikes the term "consubstantiation", brings him in some respects closer to the Catholic tradition than are some of the Calvinists whose views I have examined. There is at any rate no doubt of the thoroughly irenical intention which his book manifests from its first page to its last; as he says in the Preface, its purpose is "not to close doors but to open them".

3

It will, I think, be clear from the foregoing discussion that in recent years there has been a very striking *rapprochement* between the most vigorous and open-minded theologians in the Catholic and Protestant communions on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The movement has come from both sides. From the Catholic side there has been a most welcome anxiety to discard finally any suggestion that the sacrifice of Christ is repeated in the Eucharist and instead to insist that in it the one Sacrifice is sacramentally present. From the Protestant side there has been an equally welcome readiness to admit that the Eucharist is really a sacrifice, and that what is offered is something more than the prayers and thanksgiving of the worshippers. It is true that not all the

Protestant theologians whom we have considered have gone as far as Thurian, between whom and such Catholic thinkers as Masure there would seem to be hardly any distance at all; and I shall suggest one or two lines of possible further advance.

Clearly the fundamental question about any sacrifice is "Who offers what?", and in the case of the Eucharist a variety of answers have been given explicitly or by implication. Does Christ offer Christ, or does Christ offer us, or do we offer Christ, or do we offer ourselves? Or, perhaps, do we merely offer bread and wine? Writers could be quoted in support of each of these alternatives, and their answers would pretty obviously range them on the Catholic and Protestant sides. I would, however, suggest that the very possibility of listing the alternatives in this way as mutually exclusive is one of the results of the disintegrated condition which characterized late medieval theology and which persisted in both its Catholic and its Protestant heirs. It presupposes an artificial and perverse separation between the Incarnate Lord and his members, a morcellation or atomization of the Body of Christ. If we whole-heartedly recognize, as Mersch insisted throughout his writings, that the Whole Christ is the Head and his members as one mystical Body, through the hypostatic union of the Incarnation and the adoptive union of baptism—*Totus Christus membra cum capite: unum corpus multi sumus*—we shall, I suggest, be simply content to say that in the Eucharist the Whole Christ offers the Whole Christ, and leave the matter at that.

Dr C. W. Dugmore, in his recent book *The Mass and the English Reformers*, has made a most learned and interesting attempt to discover just what it was that happened to Eucharistic theology at the Reformation and in particular what happened to it in the Anglican Church. He is fully conscious of the disadvantages under which Cranmer and his associates laboured. "The emphasis upon the *death* of Christ", he writes, "was part of the late medieval eucharistic theology which all the reformers inherited from their 'unreformed' days."³⁰

And again:

The tragedy was that in casting off the medieval notion of a daily pleading before God of the sacrifice of Christ by the celebrating priest, they also jettisoned the wholly scriptural belief in the High Priestly work of Christ, himself pleading before God his sacrifice

upon the Cross. Though they believed in the mystical union betwixt Christ and his Church, they were, therefore, unable to see that this belief must logically include the idea of the Church as the mystical Body of Christ, through Christ its Head, pleading in the heavenly places the sacrifice once offered upon the Cross. This theological blind spot was to mar the Reformed Catholic position in England until after the danger of a papal Counter-Reformation under Elizabeth had passed, and the Caroline divines had recovered something of what was lost.³¹

And again: "Cranmer failed to retain any idea of presenting or pleading before God in the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ once offered upon the Cross as a ground of our acceptance with him."³²

Concerning Jewel, whose Eucharistic teaching has always been something of a puzzle, Dr Dugmore writes:

With regard to the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, he says that the sacrifice once offered on the Cross "is revived, and freshly laid out before our eyes, in the ministration of the holy mysteries", and, in this sense, "we offer up Christ, that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ", but the "unbloody sacrifice" in the Eucharist is properly to be understood as a sacrifice of prayer, praise and thanksgiving. . . .

He is clearly trying to express a real belief in the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist. There is something *there* quite apart from the faith of the worthy receiver, yet it can only be apprehended by faith. And he cannot bring himself to identify the presence with the elements, or attach it specifically thereto, because he cannot get away from the characteristically Calvinist notion of lifting up our hearts to heaven where Christ is in his bodily form. Yet he does not go the whole way with Calvin or the *Consensus Tigurinus*, and talk about Christ's body being present in the sacrament merely in virtue, force or efficacy.³³

All this is very illuminating, but I cannot see that Dr Dugmore is very helpful in his main thesis. For his avowed aim is, in the words of Mr Peter Brooks, "to depict the English Reformation as not merely a reaction against Ambrosian realism (as it became distorted in the later medieval doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice), but as a conscious revival of the more spiritual Augustinian tradition".³⁴ He argues that from very early times there were two views of the nature of the Eucharist, an Augustinian or "realist-symbolist" view, according to which the Eucharist is a *commemoratio* of the Passion

and a self-oblation of the Church, and an Ambrosian or "realist" view, according to which the emphasis is upon the change of the elements by consecration and in which the thought is not so much of the Church's offering of itself in union with Christ, as of the priest's offering of the sacrifice of Christ on behalf of the people.³⁵ I cannot help wondering whether the two views were either as sharply defined or as mutually antagonistic as Dr Dugmore suggests; I suspect that they represented two elements in a whole rich complex of Eucharistic thought and that neither can be abandoned without impoverishment.³⁶ Dr Dugmore further points out how preponderant the Ambrosian emphasis became in the later middle ages and how unbalanced Eucharistic thinking and devotion became as a result; he also argues that in reaction from this the Reformers, and especially the Anglican Reformers, adopted an equally unbalanced emphasis upon the Augustinian view. However, as a result of his own preference for the Augustinian view, he appears to look upon this as a thoroughly good thing, and only criticizes the Reformers, as we have seen, for their failure to get entirely free of their late medieval heritage.

If [he writes] the medieval Church took hold of the realist Ambrosian tradition and developed it into a logical system of sacramental theology, it was the merit of the English Reformers that they restored to the Western Church the other, equally ancient, realist-symbolist Augustinian tradition and enshrined it in a vernacular liturgy which has profoundly affected the whole English-speaking world.³⁷

Dr Dugmore does indeed deny that "Augustine or Ambrose were the only representatives in the early Church of the doctrines associated with their names, or that the two traditions were fully developed in their day. The complete parting of the ways only came later, with the Lateran definition of 1215."³⁸ Again, he tells us, "Catholicism, in the pre-scholastic period, was able to embrace both traditions".³⁹ What he fails to see is that they can be no less fully embraced, and more profoundly reconciled, when their development is carried beyond the stage reached by the Lateran Council and the later middle ages. And then we shall say, not that the Church is offering herself or that the priest is offering Christ, but that the Whole Christ—Head and members in one mystical unity—is offering the Whole Christ. And we shall also see that,

since man is nature's priest and Christ is God and man, the whole material order, over which man was placed as God's vicegerent, is offered in the Whole Christ by the transformation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of the Incarnate Word.

Dr Dugmore quotes the late F. E. Brightman as describing the Canon of the Prayer Book of 1549 as

an eloquent paraphrase and expansion of the Roman Canon adjusting it clearly to the conception of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as threefold: viz. (a) as a commemoration of our Lord's *historical* self-oblation in his death upon the Cross; (b) as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for the benefits of redemption so secured; and (c) as the offering of the Church, of ourselves, our souls and bodies.⁴⁰

Is it not clear that these three very different offerings—so different, indeed, that left to themselves they would almost seem to make the Eucharist into three sacrifices rather than one—are drawn into a real unity and supplement one another if we see them all as subsumed into the offering of the Whole Christ by the Whole Christ, that *totus Christus* which, as St Augustine tells us, *caput est et corpus*?⁴¹

Again, I would suggest that another false antithesis is presented by the question whether *anamnesis*, in its Eucharistic context, implies a recalling of Christ's sacrifice to God or to man. On the purely linguistic point I think that Jeremias and Thurian have made good the claims of the former alternative, but from the theological point of view I cannot see that the two interpretations are mutually exclusive. For, if *anamnesis* means not a psychological act of remembering but a genuine recalling into the present of an act which is past as an event of history but is eternalized in the heavenly places, the act when recalled will be recalled before God and man alike, and for the matter of that before the angels and the devils as well. It is not a recalling before this or that spectator; it is simply a *recalling*, a re-presentation, a sacramental instantiation, of the tremendous act and event itself.

Furthermore, it should be noted how sadly the whole notion of the Eucharistic sacrifice has been weakened through a mistaken interpretation of the notion of a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Whatever those who employ the so-called "interim rite" may do in the way of crossings and elevations, it cannot be doubted, I think, that the prayer of oblation in the English Prayer

Book meant by "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" a sacrifice in which praise and thanksgiving are what we offer, and this interpretation is often supported by the exhortation in Hebrews 13. 15, "Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name". However, the phrase "sacrifice of praise", *thusia aineseos*, is used in the Septuagint of Leviticus for the sacrifice of the peace-offering, the *thusia soteriou*, which occurs also a verse or two later in the combined form "peace-offering of praise"; we may note that in the Hebrew text the word is not "praise" but "thanksgiving" (*todah*). [Lev. 7. 2, 3, 5, LXX; 7. 12, 13, 15, E.VV.] What Hebrews, then is telling Christians to offer up with their lips is not their own praises but the sacrifice of the peace-offering, the one sacrifice which would continue in the Messianic kingdom;⁴² and this in its Christian context is nothing other than the sacrifice of Christ, who is "our peace". But if Christ is our peace-offering, he is our sin-offering too: and Dr F. C. Synge has ingeniously argued that this is implied by a famous verse in Hebrews which comes shortly before that just quoted.⁴³ According to him, 13. 10, "We have an altar whereof they who serve the tabernacle have no right to eat", means "Our altar is an altar of sin-offering", for it was precisely the sin-offering of the Day of Atonement of which the priests were not allowed to partake and which was, as the next verse of Hebrews says, burnt outside the camp. Synge would therefore seem to be correct in asserting that the altar mentioned in Hebrews 13. 10 has no eucharistic reference, but he misses altogether the eucharistic reference of the passage as a whole, which includes the peace-offering as well.

I would suggest in conclusion that any further *rapprochement* between Catholics and Protestants as regards the Eucharistic Sacrifice will involve a closer consideration of the Eucharistic Presence. Here I fear we shall find ourselves up against a more formidable problem. The line of progress may lie in the recognition of the fact that, while in the middle ages the Presence was commonly assumed to be primary to the Sacrifice, theologians have recently come to see that the Sacrifice is primary to the Presence. That is to say, the right argument is not "Christ is present in the Eucharist and therefore the way in which the elements are treated involves that he is sacrificed", but, "the Eucharist is the Sacrifice

of Christ, therefore he must be present in it". And the force of this latter argument should be felt more fully now that it is more widely recognized that the Eucharist is truly the sacramental presentation of Christ's sacrifice and not merely a commemoration of it or an offering of our own praises. To follow up this line of thought any further would, however, take me beyond the bounds of my subject.

¹ *L'Eucharistie* (Paris, Delachaux et Niestlé), pp. 36f; cf. p. 57. An English translation of this book has been published by the Lutterworth Press under the title *The Eucharistic Memorial*.

² *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, pp. 159f.

³ Op. cit., p. 61.

⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

⁶ Ibid., p. 148.

⁷ Ibid., p. 219.

⁸ Ibid., p. 173.

⁹ Ibid., p. 221. Cf. U. E. Simon, *Heaven in the Christian Tradition*, p. 270.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 76.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 161. Cf. N. Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, ed. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, pp. 108f.

¹² Ibid., p. 165.

¹³ Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 265.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 247.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 232.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 42.

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 100f. Cf. my discussion in *The Recovery of Unity*, pp. 125f.

²¹ Op. cit., p. 53.

²² Ibid., p. 54.

²³ Op. cit., p. 272.

²⁴ Op. cit., p. 190.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 191.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 47f.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 192, (*italics in original*).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 199.

³⁰ Op. cit., p. 133.

³¹ Ibid., p. 137.

³² Ibid., p. 194.

³³ Ibid., p. 231.

³⁴ *Theology*, LXII, p. 160 (April 1959).

³⁵ Op. cit., pp. 17, 21.

³⁶ Dr J. N. D. Kelly (*Early Christian Doctrines*, pp. 446f) remarks that Augustine's "thought about the Eucharist, unsystematic and many-sided as it is, is tantalizingly difficult to assess. Some, like F. Loofs, have classified him as the exponent of a purely symbolical doctrine; while A. Harnack seized upon the Christian's incorporation into Christ's mystical body, the Church, as the core of his sacramental teaching. Others have attributed receptionist views to him. There are certainly passages in his writings which give a superficial justification to all these interpretations, but a balanced verdict must agree that he accepted the current realism." Again: "There can be no doubt that he shared the realism held by almost all his contemporaries and predecessors. It is true that his thought passes easily from Christ's sacramental to his mystical body." Dr Kelly adds, however, that "there is no suggestion in [Augustine's] writings of the conversion theory sponsored by Gregory of Nyssa and Ambrose".

³⁷ Ibid., p. 247.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 246, 247.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 247.

⁴⁰ *The English Rite*, p. cvi, cit. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, p. 160.

⁴¹ *In Ps.* lvi, 1.

⁴² It is relevant to observe that "thanksgiving" (*eucharistia*) is the Christian appellation of the Eucharist. Dr Kelly remarks (op. cit., p. 197) that Justin "uses the term 'thanksgiving' as technically equivalent to 'the eucharistised bread and wine'".

⁴³ *Hebrews and the Scriptures*, pp. 39f.

UNITY OF THE MINISTRY

MAX THURIAN

THE problem of the ministry is one of the more delicate ones in the search for visible unity. Indeed, for the churches of a "catholic" type, the validity of the Sacraments is conditioned by the way in which the ministry was ordained; it is conditioned by the minister of ordination. It is therefore obvious that sooner or later the completion of the visible unity in sacramental intercommunion brings up the problem of the ministry.

The problem here is not that of the Church government. The form of the Church government is conditioned by ecclesiological and theological factors, but the way in which this government is realized in a given age and at a given place depends very much on non-theological factors. It can thus be said that all Church government must imply a form which manifests the fact that it is Christ as Head who governs his Body from above, and that it is the Holy Spirit who quickens the Church structure and gives the various ministries. But there certainly are several ways of manifesting this guidance of Christ and of the Spirit from above. These various ways are conditioned by ages and places, by non-theological factors. The Church must show itself liberal in this sphere, and must allow multiformity. The main thing is that in these various forms Christ may really be recognized as the Head who governs from above, and the Spirit as the quickener who acts throughout the whole Body, throughout the People of God. If we do not mind minting a very barbaric term, we might say that the system of the Church government is a "demopneumatic Christocracy", whatever may be the different shades of opinion about this government. Christ indeed holds the power that from above he exerts through his ministers, but this power necessarily takes as a collaborator the entire People of God quickened by the Spirit who lives and expresses himself in it.

So the problem here is not so much about the Church government as about the Church ministry as a visible sign of Christ's work and as a visible sign of unity.

The question is not to know who is right: whether it be the "catholic" churches which acknowledge a separate priesthood, or the "evangelical" churches which acknowledge a priesthood of all

believers. This opposition adopts far too narrow views, and often withholds unexpected results; for instance, a "catholic" church gives a large place to the laity, while an "evangelical" church does not know how to employ its faithful and concentrates all the ministries in the pastor.

On the other hand, it is certain that the theology of the ministry has evolved a good deal in the different traditions. Thus, in the "catholic" churches the notion of a "separate priesthood" grows dim and gives place to the conception of a "ministry of Christ's Priesthood", in parallel with the development of a theology of the mass as "Sacrament of the Sacrifice" and no longer as "separate sacrifice". Everything is far better focused upon the uniqueness of the Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ, who is "sacramentally" present and living in the Priesthood of the Church, in the preaching of the Word of God, and in the eucharistic sacrifice.

Likewise, in the "evangelical" churches the return to the sources of the Reformation gives a deeper sense to the notion of the ministry, to the biblical conception of a Royal Priesthood of the whole Church organized in various ministries.

In spite of the assured differences existing between the churches, the decisive and lasting disagreements are not found so much in the very conception of the ministry in relation to the laity. It cannot be said that there are clerical churches and lay churches. This is a false opposition.

The decisive and lasting disagreement between the churches as to the ministry is to be found in the acceptance or the refusal of the episcopal ministry, understood not only as a chairmanship but as the ministry of unity.

What properly constitutes the character of the episcopal ministry, is to be ordered for the unity of the local church, and for the unity of the local church with the universal Church. The Church has evolved and can still evolve concerning the prerogatives of the bishop, such as being the minister in ordinary of certain ecclesiastical acts; to-day the Roman Church itself allows confirmation to be administered by priests in certain instances. If in the "catholic" churches the ministers are "validly" ordained by the bishops, it is not by virtue of a particular "mystical fluid" which would be bestowed on them at their consecration, but it is because the bishops represent the unity of the Church.

Is the episcopal ministry—whatever name it may be given—necessary for the life of the Church in plenitude? It is the answer to this question which divides the churches as to the problem of the ministry. And that is why it is essential in order to progress in the visible unity of the Church to enter vigorously upon this question, and to search for a common answer. But to prepare the ground, it is important to define exactly what is the episcopal ministry and for what it is needed. The “catholic” Christians should not indeed overload this ministry with all sorts of accessory significations and privileges, due more to history than to properly so called ecclesiology.

In reading the Acts and the Epistles, it appears very clearly that the unity of the local church, and of the local church with the other churches in the world, is not only a grace about which one must rejoice when it is granted, but an obedience which has to be maintained through prayer. Mission and unity are closely bound. On the other hand, the knowledge of the entire truth is conditioned by unity. Without this charity which is maintained through visible unity, light is not given to understand the whole truth. The Christians in dividing take away in various directions pieces of truth that they hypertrophy through polemic. And that is how from complementary conceptions are made contradictory and irreducible stands.

The Apostles worked ceaselessly to keep the local churches in communion with one another in charity so that the mission may be efficacious. Unity, charity, truth, mission are conditioned in the Church, and it behoves the apostolic ministry to make this conditioning work harmoniously.

We see in the Pastoral Epistles how much the Apostle is anxious that the “trust” may be “kept”. It is necessary, for the Church to keep on living, that the apostolic ministry may continue in some way in its function of trust keeper. To be sure the Apostles are unique in the history of the Church, but we see St Paul desiring that a ministry of unity which would keep the good trust may be carried on so that the Church may remain in truth and charity in view of its mission. The ministry of Timothy and the ministry of Titus appear as something new in the early Church, and yet implied in the apostolic ministry: as were the Apostles, they are commissioned to watch over the visible unity of the local church

and over its unity with other churches for the keeping of the original trust.

This ministry is neither a ministry of authority, nor a doctrinal ministry, nor a sacramental ministry in the first place. (From now on we shall be speaking of "episcopal ministry" for convenience, but without overloading the term with all the burden of history.) The "bishop" has not as a primary task to command or to govern as a general or as a chief of state. He can share his commandment and his government with others in a council. Neither has he as an essential duty to define the doctrine, and to uphold it; this task can be entrusted to others, the doctors of the Church and the theologians. Nor is he the necessary holder of certain privileged Sacraments. It is the intention of the Church (in faithfulness to the Bible) which operates the ascription to the bishop of ordination and confirmation, for instance, because these ecclesiastical acts are in direct relation with the unity of the churchly body.

Understood as being in the prolongation of the apostolic intention, the "episcopal ministry" is essentially the pastoral ministry of word and Sacraments ordered for unity, in view of charity, for a greater fullness in truth, so that the mission may become fully efficacious. The bishop is the minister of unity in the local church, and of the local church in ecumenical unity; he manifests the presence of the universal Church in the local church, and the presence of the local church in the universal, ecumenical, and council Church. This is his essential function. To exert it he must sometimes act with recognized authority, he must "keep the trust", he must "ordain" ministries; but those acts which manifest his essential ministry of unity do not necessarily pertain to him in severalty: he can perform them corporately with other ministers, he can delegate them to others. The apostolic ministry of unity is entrusted to him personally. A theologian by his thought, for instance, or a saint by his radiance may set up the local church unity; but if this unity is not integrated into the ecumenical unity, it may become sectarian. It is incumbent on the bishop to make the local church unity agree with the unity of the universal Church.

No doubt the ecumenical solution lies in the harmonious union of the two episcopal and synodal forms. The bishop's council should be as large as possible, and once a year take the form of a synod where pastors and laymen would be deputed (one pastor and

one layman for each parish, for instance). For all important matters the bishop would take the synod's opinion; for questions of less importance the bishop would act with the support of a permanent synodal council. And last, for all matters of detail, he would decide by himself under his own responsibility, being ready to render account before the synod. But, in any case, in an episcopal-synodal church the bishop possesses the uttermost responsibility as to the local church unity and its unity with the universal Church; he will have to render account for it before an ecumenical council and before his Lord.

The search for the visible unity of the Church involves a very serious consideration of the episcopal ministry on the part of the "catholics", on one hand, in order that they may strip from it all its burden of non-theological monarchism, and that they may enrich it with a synodal context; on the part of the "evangelicals", on the other hand, in order that they may strip their synodal structures of all their burden of democratism, and that they may fructify them through the acceptance of a deeply spiritual ministry of unity.

The ecumenical part which is to be played by the episcopal^a ministry is as important as its local part. The bishop's ministry is constantly to unite his church to the universal Church through his foreign relations and through his concern for informing and training his church in the ecumenical direction. The bishops of separated confessions can already perform this mission. So can certain ecumenical organisms of synodal churches. But it is manifest that this ministry of unity is urged and amplified by the existence of the World Council of Churches which plays the temporary part of an organization substituted for the council: it places the local church authorities in touch with one another, it urges them to the search for visible unity.

If the "catholic" churches can claim to possess an episcopal fullness by right, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the World Council of Churches is preparing the restoration of an episcopal fullness in effect, i.e. of an ecumenical ministry in each church, whatever may be the name and form it is given. It can be said indeed that a "catholic" bishop has this ministry of ecumenical unity in his church, but if this church and himself have no concern for or no possibility of getting into living communication with the other churches, the ministry is not fully performed. On the

contrary, owing to the World Council, the various ministries of unity, the bishops, come into touch and see their function become richer and more fully performed, until the day when the local churches' full intercommunion will make a real ecumenical council possible.

The episcopal ministry of unity precludes a frantic centralization of the universal Church. In the ecumenical council Church, permanent central organs will certainly be needed to ensure the continuity of the council work and of the relations between the churches. But the bishops must enjoy a large freedom in their local church, and the only limit to this freedom is visible communion with the other local churches. There is no question for them of receiving orders for their church from outside, but to comply with the council unity through contacts and meetings on the national or on the universal level.

It does seem that the Church of the first centuries realized in a very lively way this ecumenical bond of the local bishops who were very free in their different churches. Sometimes even tenseness might have been manifested, as occurred between Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Stephen, bishop of Rome, about the question of re-baptizing the heretics. Cyprian acknowledged the primacy of the bishop of Rome, but this did not keep him from withstanding him. This shows what a freedom the local bishops had, but also how deeply they were concerned about their ecumenical relation.

Manifestly this ecumenical relation implies the meeting of a council when the need of tightening unity is being felt. It implies therefore also an authority for the council. What is decided in an ecumenical council by the local ministers of unity, or by the bishops accompanied by two or three theologians or lay delegates, outdoes of course all opposite local decision. Truth appears more clearly in the council unity than in the local unity. It is right that permanent council organs should create and keep up the unity and the fraternal relations of the local churches between themselves. Temporarily the World Council of Churches achieves a part of this task, in effect if not by right.

It is not incumbent on us here to consider whether a primacy of the council rests upon sufficient grounds, its purpose being to settle the differences in case of serious crisis in order to avoid schism. However there is a point which has to be kept in mind. The

ancient Church very early granted a primacy in effect and by right to the church of Rome and to its bishop. The difficulty of the relations between the churches made it necessary to have a typical church, a pattern of unity, at which the other churches could look to keep in communion with one another. The theological reasons of Peter's primacy over the other Apostles played a major part, but it is certain that the necessity of the local churches' unity, and of a typical church to which they could conform to avoid schism and heresy, has also played a very important part. So we cannot talk in the ancient Church of a primacy of the pope as sovereign pontiff of the universal Church, but of a primacy of the church of Rome and of its bishop. It is the local church of Rome, it is the bishop of Rome, which are conspicuously held forth for the other local churches and the other bishops to acknowledge as a type of church and a type of bishop, a type of church unity, that may inspire them, urge them and unite them in the sight of an identical pattern. In the ancient Church we do not find any aspiration for a monarchic and centralizing papal administration, but rather the demand on Rome to be really the typical church and on the bishop of Rome to be really the model bishop. This may explain a certain tenseness and harshness towards the bishop of Rome, as in Cyprian's case. The point is not for him to question Peter's and the pope's primacy, but he makes a great demand, perhaps too great, on the bishop and the church of Rome to provide the solution of his difficult problem.

But if Rome is to have the primacy, it does not only want the graces of Peter's succession, but the church life in plenitude. The early local churches looked to Rome not only because they saw in it the first of the Apostles' churches, but also because they saw in it the church of the martyrs, of Peter, of Paul, and of the many others; they saw in it the living and exemplary church, the missionaries' and martyrs' mother.

In the bishop of Rome they saw a real bishop, concerned about his flock, about his local church, and exerting in it the fullness of the apostolic ministry. When little by little this conception of the bishop of Rome as real pastor of his local church comes to life again in the person of John XXIII, one can understand all the difference that lies between a sovereign pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church confined in the Vatican administration and pomp in the middle of a pilgrimage town, and a real bishop of the church

of Rome who seeks from his local episcopal ministry to understand the needs of the Church and of the world, and wants to be the typical bishop in the typical church. When the local church of Rome will have become again a living church in itself and for the others, at the head of the liturgical, biblical, catholic renewal; when it will be deeply concerned about presence in the world with its sufferings and its aspirations, and will really be the church of the poor and of the hungry for bread and for justice; when it will have become again the church of the martyrs, then it might be easier to understand what it was for the other local churches in the first centuries.

Seeing how easy communications have become to-day, the World Council of Churches offers the possibility for the service of the local churches to collect typical experiences achieved here and there in the world. That is how the Church of South India can offer the pattern of a church obsessed by the concern for unity in view of the mission, and can urge other local churches to seek a merger. So the part of the typical local church can be played in turn by different churches in which the Holy Spirit blows, and these churches will be held forth in our sight, thanks to the World Council of Churches.

The rediscovery of the ministry of unity by the synodal churches and its thorough study by the episcopal churches would be an important step towards mutual acceptance and possible exchange of the ministers between the local churches, the penultimate sign of full unity. For that mutual acceptance and that possible exchange to become effective, for the unity of the ministry to be performed between the separate churches, precise requirements would still have to be fulfilled.

The "catholic" churches must define and examine thoroughly their position in regard to the non-episcopal ministry in the synodal churches. What is the meaning of the vocation and of the ministry of a pastor not ordained by a bishop? The "evangelical" churches must study the possibility of integrating into their structure the ministry of unity, the episcopal ministry, which would be consecrated, as an ecumenical bond with the other churches, by several bishops representing different local churches which already possess this ministry. This should not involve any renouncing of the values acquired on both sides, but rather an ecumenical blossoming in view of the mission, as we can find

to-day in the Church of South India. That there may be some "theological sacrifice" to be made in that direction does not imply renouncement but far more a blooming into maturity.

THOMAS BECKET AND HENRY II

DAVID WALKER

THE ISSUE over which king and archbishop came into conflict was that of criminous clerks. (Professor Cheney uses "felonous clerks" which has more meaning for modern readers but the traditional term is not likely to be displaced.)¹ The king's demand was simple: those men in orders who were found guilty of a criminal offence must be subject to the same penalties and punishments as laymen. They might be tried in courts Christian, but they must be handed over to the king's officials for punishment. This demand implied some degree of oversight of the work of the Church courts by royal officials. Becket was not prepared to agree. He insisted that this procedure was inadmissible and that it involved a second judgement. God does not judge twice for the same offence: so Jerome on Nahum: and that was Becket's position.²

Behind this single issue there were larger issues at stake. There was, first of all, the demand which was voiced plainly at Westminster in October 1163, that the bishops should accept the ancient customs of the realm, and these, whether they were closely defined, or left deliberately general and vague, involved the whole question of the interdependence of church and state in the Angevin kingdom. There was, secondly, the question of the personal relationship between Henry II and Becket. What the new relationship between these erstwhile friends was to be was indicated at Westminster in 1163, and defined with unmistakable clarity at Clarendon and Northampton in the following year.

The two things were intimately connected. At Westminster, in October 1163, Henry put forward his demands, and acting under Becket's leadership and influence, the bishops refused to do more than give Henry the assurance he required qualified—some would say nullified—by a clause saving their order. Pressure was brought to bear on Becket; the pope and his envoy the abbot of L'Aumône, used their influence to persuade him to accept the ancient customs of the realm as the king had demanded, without qualification. In the end Becket gave way and offered Henry his unqualified acceptance, but since this was done privately and not publicly Henry insisted that the archbishop's acceptance should be made as publicly as his refusal. For this purpose Becket and the bishops

waited on the king at Clarendon in January 1164. Becket had grave misgivings at Clarendon; he was more than reluctant to give publicly the pledge which he had already given to the king in private, but after he had again been reassured that the act would be formal and without far-reaching consequences, he gave it, and persuaded the bishops to join him. It then became clear that Henry was determined to force the issue. The customs of the realm were defined in the sixteen "constitutions" of Clarendon, and Becket was asked to set his seal to this famous document. He refused, but even if he hesitated at that point, he was a compromised man, for he had twice given his acceptance of the customs in their undefined form.

He recognized quickly that his action amounted to a betrayal of important principles. It is said that his cross-bearer, a Welshman, Alexander Llewelyn, asked, "What virtue is left to him who has betrayed his conscience and his reputation?"³ Both had been damaged, and Becket attempted, not very happily, to requite the one and restore the other. He ceased to celebrate Mass until Alexander III ordered him to resume his priestly office. He made two unsuccessful attempts to flee the kingdom. In every way he failed to mollify the king, but rather, continued to provoke him.

By this time all hope of mollifying Henry had passed, even had Becket wished to do so. At Clarendon in January 1164 the king was concerned to secure the assent of the archbishop and the bishops to a major issue of ecclesiastical policy. At Northampton in October 1164 he was concerned to isolate and break the archbishop.

Coming after a year of anxiety and nine months of remorse and frustration Northampton was an ordeal which, at one point, reduced Becket to physical illness. The council held there was a climacteric in his life. He was summoned with the maximum of discourtesy, to appear before the king in the matter of John the Marshal, who claimed that he had not had justice from his lord, the archbishop of Canterbury. It was as a great magnate involved in a question arising from the interplay between royal and feudal jurisdiction that Becket stood before the king and his assembled magnates, ecclesiastical and secular. Henry II had attacked him as an individual and in a matter which could not be said to involve the ecclesiastical order. The archbishop was thus deprived of the support, though not of the sympathy, of his fellow bishops. Gilbert Foliot saw clearly that the problem which Becket and his

advisers must solve was that "of reconciling feudal discipline with the requirements of canon law".⁴ In the event it became clear that the case was merely a pretext for a full-scale attack on Becket. A demand for £500 for his contempt of the king's court was followed by demands that Becket should account for sums of money which had passed through his hands as chancellor, culminating in the requirement that he account for the revenues of all the vacant sees and monasteries which had been in his hand as chancellor. "From that day forth", as William fitz Stephen wrote, "the barons and the knights no longer came to see him in his lodging, for they had well understood the mind of the king."⁵

The bishops, reading the signs of the times, could offer little constructive advice. It was clear that all depended on Henry's clemency, and the indications were that this would not be extended. They could advise him to safeguard the interests of his see, and to run his risks as an individual rather than allow them to fall on his province, but they could hold out little hope for the solution of his personal problem. For Becket, the personal problem was a consequence of his ecclesiastical policy; he could not distinguish between them. He must continue to act in full powers as archbishop on behalf of his Church, not merely as a matter of self-protection, but as a matter of conviction. Small wonder that he should be stricken with physical and mental collapse. Small wonder that, when he recovered, he resolved on dramatic and significant action. He celebrated a votive mass at the altar of St Stephen the proto-martyr, with its introit which had an unmistakable application to his own peril—"Princes sat and spake against me". It may even be taken, as some contemporaries took it, as an indication that at this early stage Becket saw his own martyrdom as the only real solution. He then purposed to go to the king vested and barefoot—again almost inviting martyrdom. He was dissuaded, but having reached the castle, he suddenly determined on another dramatic gesture. He took his primatial cross and, against all precedent, determined to carry it into the king's presence himself. The incident provoked two of the most celebrated of Foliot's remarks. When he was asked, "My lord bishop of London, why do you suffer him to carry his cross?", he replied, "My good man, he was always a fool and always will be." And to Becket, a little later, he said, "You hold in your hands the cross; if now the king should

gird on his sword, behold, a king bravely adorned, and an archbishop likewise.”⁶ In other words, “a pretty pair you would make”. The mockery disguised good advice. Yet Foliot was not willing to leave Becket alone on this occasion. Although the archbishop was obviously a man marked for destruction, Foliot was anxious to give him support, and offered to carry the primatial cross himself, a gesture which would have identified him more closely than he might have wished with the archbishop’s point of view.⁷

When the king and his secular magnates passed judgement on the archbishop, he refused to hear sentence pronounced. He left the court, and, at night, he fled from Northampton on the first stage of the journey which was to take him to Sens and Pontigny.

He had faced an ordeal by terror, with courage. For the next six years he was to be an exile. Still nominally archbishop, and still recognized, however unwillingly, by the English bishops, he had little influence in England, where he was scarcely missed, and not much more influence on affairs at the papal curia.

It is impossible to read the accounts of the council of Northampton without some sense of admiration for Becket’s courage. It is also impossible, for me at least, to consider the course of events from 1162 until 1164 without some sense of mystification and of exasperation. Becket seems to have handled the king with the minimum of tact and skill. He seems to have been concerned, not so much to gain his own way as skillfully as possible, but to proclaim his views as bluntly as possible with little thought for their realization in practice. What persuaded him to this course of action is not apparent. But the contrast is clear. He had been a resourceful and efficient chancellor, carrying out another man’s policy; he had become a hard and inept archbishop, compromising the success of the policies he could now initiate within his own province.

There is no reason to suppose that he considered his aims as unattainable ideals. He worked hard enough to impose them upon the king, and they belong within the definition of politics as the art of the possible. But Becket’s view of what was possible had been produced in an abnormal environment, first of all as clerk to Archbishop Theobald, when he helped to formulate and then to realize ecclesiastical policies which were only practical under the peculiar conditions of the anarchy, and, secondly as chancellor, when, in the first flush of Henry II’s success, a bold and assertive

policy gave the king the initiative in England and in his possessions in France. I wonder whether Becket ever distinguished between the sources of power and the exercise of power. As a young man he had watched Theobald defy a weak king; as chancellor he had bullied and browbeaten others in the king's name. He seems to have believed that, as archbishop, he could browbeat the king himself.

It was a view which produced disastrous results. It led to the complete alienation of the two men, and made the solution of the political problem of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical powers depend upon the settlement of a personal antagonism which could not be resolved. Few archbishops of Canterbury have enjoyed more favourable relationships with the secular power than Becket could claim in 1162. None, as I think, made less use of his initial advantages. I suspect that the explanation is that Becket misread the problem of power.

It is easy to understand, though not to follow, those historians who explain his career in terms of a lust for power. Salzman, for example, in what is still the standard work on Henry II, adopted this explanation: "Becket himself", he writes, "must have seen in his promotion the chance of satisfying his ambition; as chancellor he was the second man in the realm, subject only to the king; but, subject to him, often directing the royal policy, but always liable to be checked by an expression of the royal will; as archbishop, with the divine authority of the Church behind him, it would be for him to dictate and for the king to obey."⁸ *For him to dictate and for the king to obey*: that comes close to an explanation of Becket's career as archbishop. Within certain limits he himself could defend that view of his office; he could never bring about its achievement. It involved a complete reversal of the relationship which had hitherto existed between the two men. The exchange of rôles might seem obvious to Becket: it was something which Henry II could never understand. It must also be said that Becket embarked on his attempt to assert his own authority before, as archbishop, he had created a pastoral relationship between himself and the king.⁹ His attitude implied changes in his own assumptions which were fundamental; it demanded that Henry should make these new assumptions himself, and that he should do so as quickly as Becket had done.

Instead, irritation gave place to anger, and finally to an implacable hostility which, at Northampton, drove the king beyond

the point of humiliating Becket to the point of seeking his complete overthrow.

It is not surprising that in 1164 Henry could describe the archbishop as one who "has been publicly judged in my court by a full council of the barons of my realm as a wicked and perjured traitor against me".¹⁰ The charge was repeated in later years, as in 1167, when the archbishop of Rouen reported one of the king's outbursts against Becket: "It is well known . . . how proud and rebellious and seditious against me he has been."¹¹ We may say that this is the king's "case", but behind it there is a genuine sense of betrayal.

In exile Becket reached a deeper understanding of the principles for which he was suffering.¹² Characteristically he went to the canons for the apt quotation: "evil", he said, "when not resisted, is approved, and truth, when not defended, is crushed",¹³ and he saw in himself one whose calling it was to resist evil and to defend truth. If that involved a challenge to the power of the king himself, that must be faced. He could write to the bishops of England, "I have taken the whole danger upon myself, I have borne so many reproaches, so many injuries, and have suffered proscription in behalf of you all", and he presented himself to them in striking, and often-quoted terms: "Has it escaped your memory . . . what was done . . . especially at Northampton, when Christ was judged in my person before the tribunal of the prince?"¹⁴

He also made every effort to bring the full force of papal authority to bear against the king. Very early after his flight from Northampton he wrote to Alexander III, "In your presence, holy father, is my refuge," and he went on, "the cause of the Church would have sunk before the rapacity of princes if I had not faced the coming evil . . . *Your privileges holy father are at stake*; by this pernicious precedent the spiritual power would yield to the temporal."¹⁵

Now here, again, Becket misjudged the situation with which he had to deal. The strength of his case depended, not upon its justice, but upon the changing fortunes of Alexander III. As early as 1163, John of Canterbury, bishop of Poitiers, had warned Becket: "You must expect nothing from the curia in any matter which might offend the king."¹⁶ Becket was to realize this to the full between 1164 and 1170. Always there was the danger that Henry II would give his support to the anti-pope, a danger never more pronounced than in June 1165, when at the diet of Wurzburg, the king's envoys

pledged him to Paschal III. Their action was repudiated, but the risk of alienating Henry was one which Alexander and his advisers could not ignore. It led the pope to annul the archbishop's censures and to evade the issues which Becket was continually pressing upon him. In justice, it should be said that Alexander was surprisingly firm in his acceptance of Becket's cause, even when he could do little to further it.

Exile did not soften Becket. In the interviews which he had with Henry he showed himself unyielding. Now it was his insistence upon the saving clause "saving my order", now his insistence on the kiss of peace, which broke up conferences at the point of success.¹⁷

His firmness, condemned though it was by his most intimate companions, was soundly based. The king's attitude was simple. At one conference between the two men, Henry said, "If only you and I were together again, *if only you would do my will*, I would give you all my power."¹⁸ And in the writ recording the settlement of their differences, he announced, "Know that Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, has made peace with me, *according to my will*."¹⁹ If there are sometimes doubts about precisely what Becket stood for, there are none about the king's position.

In 1170 the coronation of the younger Henry was a final affront to the exiled archbishop, which, on the surface, made reconciliation impossible. Yet within a month king and archbishop had come to terms—uneasy terms from Becket's point of view—and he was free to return to Canterbury. He returned in the open expectation of violent death, and he expressed fears on this point to a number of people. To the king he wrote, "woe is me, necessity drives me to my suffering church. I go thither by your licence and under your protection, to die in its behalf, unless your filial piety vouchsafe speedily to give me consolation".²⁰

Increasingly he came to suspect the king's good faith, while his own course of action rekindled, rather than smothered controversy. At Christmas, 1170, he published sentences of excommunication on those who had been his leading opponents. The archbishop of York, with Gilbert Foliot of London, and Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, were informed of his action as they were about to leave England to join the king. London and Salisbury were for submission, but York would not yield, and he persuaded his fellow-bishops to continue their journey and to make complaint to the

king. Thus was induced the fatal outburst of anger in which Henry spoke so violently against his old enemy. Four knights left his court to seek the archbishop's death. At Canterbury they found a willing martyr and they hacked him to death in his own cathedral church. Familiarity has blunted the sense of horror which their deed aroused, though, paradoxically, T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* has created a wider knowledge of Becket and sympathy for his position than has existed in this country for some four hundred years.

Judgements on Becket have been varied and often violent. The most influential in the last generation was that of the late Z. N. Brooke, and it was his interpretation which Professor Knowles had especially in mind when he wrote his "Character Study" in 1949. Brooke's thesis is summarized in an often quoted paragraph from his Birkbeck lectures.

The only explanation of him that seems to me to fit the facts at all is that he was one of those men who, exalting to the full the rôle they have to play, picture themselves as the perfect representatives of their office, visualising a type and making themselves the living impersonation of it: actors playing a part, but unconscious actors.

There is much more in this vein, and the paragraph ends:

I do not for a moment suggest that he was insincere, or that he was merely playing a part. He was living a part, and it was absolutely real to him, so much so that his partisans saw him as he saw himself; no mere actor could have become the great martyr-saint of the English Church. But I think he was often, in consequence, blind to the practical facts of the situation, and to the entirely unnecessary irritation that he so often aroused.²¹

Against this view Knowles has put up a spirited defence.²² From the pages of his essay on Becket there emerges the picture of a man too much accustomed to splendour to adopt successfully a humble disguise when flight was necessary; too human not to enjoy what opportunities life had brought him, and, in the process, not to avoid points of principle which were inconsistent with his present enjoyment of high secular office; but, in the long run, a man too clear-sighted to reject those points of principle, once, as archbishop, he had reached a position where recognition did not conflict with less worthy motives.

But perhaps the most interesting contrast between Professor Knowles's views and those expressed by other historians lies elsewhere. The assumption is generally made that Henry II's policy of centralization, with all that it involved for secular and ecclesiastical institutions, was soundly based, and that opposition to it ought properly to be condemned. Becket's career is, therefore, frequently and adversely judged as an obstacle to the king's policy. Where Henry is judged adversely, it is not for distorted principles, but for the element of ruthlessness which he introduced into the contest with Becket from the time of Northampton, if not on the eve of the council of Clarendon.²³ Few historians can find a good word for Becket's conduct in exile. Warmth and sympathy, but not necessarily understanding, are allowed to enter with the last scenes of Becket's life and with his death.²⁴

Knowles starts from a different position. He takes the view that the archbishop's attitude was correct and that his actions were well-judged to meet the contemporary situation. For him, Becket, as archbishop, was a man surrounded by the forces of evil "which an archbishop must withstand". And the means by which he withstood them were chosen consciously, and wisely. He is prepared, for example, to give full measure to the gifts of "tact, charm and a prudence which overcame the prejudices of his first months" as chancellor, and to recognize that these are not qualities normally associated with the archbishop. But he goes on to say, "when in later years Thomas acted tactlessly, stubbornly or harshly, it was not because of an old character-fault, but because he judged, rightly or wrongly, that the time had come to dismiss conciliation and neglect criticism".²⁵

He also faces one issue which makes it difficult to reach a favourable view of Becket's career, his actions as chancellor. Knowles overcomes this by making Becket's career as archbishop the key to his whole life, and by apologizing for the less easily defensible deeds of the chancellor. He is prepared to argue that where, in exile, Becket was rigid, stubborn, and even ruthless, these were the product of a sense of guilt for his past.²⁶

But the aspect of his interpretation of Becket which I find most difficult to accept is his claim that the course of action on which the archbishop decided was a sound method of achieving his aims. He writes: "Thomas, indeed, maintained throughout, first, that nothing but the threat of excommunication and interdict would

break the king and, secondly, that such a threat, seriously made, would be effective. *All that happened in the struggle vindicated his judgement.* The difficulty was that with a man of the calibre of Henry II nothing but firm, continuous, and relentless pressure would have availed."²⁷ Few medievalists would be prepared to go that far.

Of course Professor Knowles is, in a sense, committed to the archbishop. To see how his view of Becket affects his reading of the whole struggle, we need only consider his attitude towards Gilbert Foliot. The key to his approach to Foliot is to be found in the remark in his Ford lectures, "And now we come at last and as it were unwillingly to the most enigmatic figure of all. . . ." ²⁸ He usually writes of the archbishop as Thomas; the bishop of London is generally Foliot.²⁹ Foliot was a man of probity with a tremendous reputation in his own day. He was translated to London so that the king might have his advice without difficulty and he was Henry's confessor. The pope always used him as the person most likely to influence Henry in ecclesiastical matters. But he became the leading spokesman for the royalist cause and the ablest and most profound analysis of the Henrician position is to be found in his writings. Of him Knowles writes: "By a chain of circumstances which he could not have foreseen, but from which he made no effort to extricate himself, the bishop of London was placed in the position of the king's man and rival leader to the archbishop; he had therefore perforce to adopt a policy and, being a man of mental power and literary ability, it was inevitable that he should feel called upon to formulate his principles."³⁰ That says much which is creditable to Foliot; it still damns him, and his condemnation arises ultimately from the fact that he was the archbishop's opponent.

Becket's career apparently ended with the victory gained by the martyrdom of the archbishop. And yet, when we examine the relationship between Church and State in the second half of Henry II's reign, we are forced to recognize that this is deceptive. In the sphere of jurisdiction Becket's point was won, though as early as 1176 Henry began to gain from the papacy concessions which went counter to the archbishop's stand. In other respects there was little which could be called a victory.

Hilary, bishop of Chichester, once defended the position of the bishops before Henry II and maintained the point that only the

pope could sanction the deposition of a bishop. In reply Henry "stretched out his hands and said: 'It is quite true that a bishop cannot be deposed, but he can be pushed out by outstretched hands, so.'"³¹ Professor Cheney has recently reviewed the history of the English Church from Becket to Langton (in which this episode is recalled) and from two things, the Constitutions of Clarendon and John's defiance of Innocent III he draws the conclusion "the king is determined to control his clergy to the very limit of their tolerance, and papal jurisdiction over them will be contested if ever it affects adversely the king's interests".³²

Henry II never attempted to conceal his attitude towards the great ecclesiastics of his realms. We might, in conclusion, recall another well-known incident, the election of Samson as abbot of Bury St Edmunds in 1182. The prior and twelve monks of Bury travelled to the king's court to elect a new abbot, and after a long, and, for them, bewildering process, Samson was elected. Henry II is reported to have said, "You have presented Samson to me: I do not know him. If you had presented your Prior, I should have accepted him; for I have seen him and know him. But, as it is, I will do what you desire. *But have a care: for by the very eyes of God, if you do ill, I will be at you!*"³³ It was no idle threat. Under the Angevin kings, Becket's career is the classic example of what that could mean in practice. *Determined to control his clergy to the very limit of their tolerance*: Becket was clearly expected to display a maximum of tolerance in the face of the king's demands. Perhaps that, simply, is why he reduced the limits of tolerance to a minimum, why compromise was impossible for him, and why he fought so stubbornly in defence of his order.

¹ From *Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), p. 107. I am indebted to my colleague, Mr W. Greenway, for his criticism of this paper.

² The best-known survey is probably that in Z. N. Brooke's *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, 1931), chapter XIII. The classical exposition of this issue is F. W. Maitland's essay "Henry II and the Criminous Clerks", *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898).

³ J. C. Robertson and J. E. Sheppard, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (7 vols., Rolls Series, 1875-85), iv. 306; D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway, *English Historical Documents*, ii. (1953) 723; quoted also in W. H. Hutton, *Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1926), p. 101. Mr G. W. Greenaway's translation of material relating to the Life of Becket, published for the Folio Society (1961) was issued after this paper was in proof.

⁴ David Knowles, *The Episcopal Colleagues of Thomas Becket*, p. 143.

⁵ *Materials*, iii. 54; *English Historical Documents*, ii. 726.

⁶ For this I have followed William fitz Stephen's account, *Materials*, iii. 57; *English Historical Documents*, ii. 728.

⁷ This incident is recorded in the life attributed to "Roger of Pontigny", edited by Robertson as Anonymous I; *Materials*, iv. 46; cf. Knowles, *Colleagues*, p. 78.

⁸ L. F. Salzman, *Henry II* (1917), pp. 50-1.

⁹ Knowles makes the point that this pastoral relationship could not be created. ("Archbishop Thomas Becket: A Character Study" (Raleigh Lecture on History) *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxxv (1949); reprinted separately. All references are to the separate reprint, p. 16.) See also, J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship*, p. 17.

¹⁰ In a letter to Louis VII; *Materials*, v. 134; *English Historical Documents*, ii. 734.

¹¹ *Materials*, vi. 130; quoted Hutton, *Becket*, p. 183.

¹² So, for example, Hutton, *Becket*, p. 140; Knowles, *Character*, pp. 15-16.

¹³ *Materials*, v. 393; Hutton, *Becket*, p. 149.

¹⁴ His letter is printed in *Materials*, v.; see especially pp. 492, 494; quoted Hutton, *Becket*, pp. 155, 157.

¹⁵ *Materials*, v. 138-9; Hutton, *Becket*, p. 117.

¹⁶ *Materials*, v. 56; quoted, Hutton, *Becket*, p. 85; A. L. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1955) p. 204.

¹⁷ At Montmirail, 6-7 January 1169, and at Montmartre, 18 November 1169.

¹⁸ The conference took place at Chaumont, near Blois. *Materials*, iii. 470; Knowles, *Character*, p. 20.

¹⁹ R. W. Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II* (1878), p. 146; *English Historical Documents*, ii. 756.

²⁰ *Materials*, vii. 394; Hutton, *Becket*, p. 247; Knowles, *Character*, p. 20.

²¹ Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John*, p. 193. Tout's view deserves to be mentioned in this context, if only to show that the explanation which satisfied Brooke was not the only tenable one. Tout oversimplified the archbishop's position, and could speak of the "very simplicity of Thomas's point of view". He found the explanation of the changes of outlook which mark Becket's life as a form of consistency which made Thomas serve equally loyally different masters at different stages of his career. Thus he could write, "From the household clerk, as from the household knight, mediaeval morality required above all things unlimited and unquestioning devotion to the will of his lord". And, at a later stage of Becket's life, he could still find that "his mainspring of duty was still loyalty to his immediate lord". ("The Place of St. Thomas of Canterbury in History", *The Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout* (3 vols., Manchester, 1932-34), iii. 30, 38). There may be as much danger in thinking, as I do, that compared with the attitude of Archbishop Thomas, the position of Henry II is much easier to define, and in claiming that "the king's attitude was simple".

²² In *Character* (1949).

²³ Cf. for example, Lady Stenton's judgement in *Cambridge Medieval History*, v. 562.

²⁴ Prof. Foréville, like Knowles, takes a favourable view of the archbishop's career, and deliberately contrasts him with the less worthy character of the king. (R. Foréville, *L'Eglise et la Royauté en Angleterre Sous Henri II Plantagenet* (1154-1189) (Paris, 1946), pp. 111 et sqq.)

²⁵ *Character*, p. 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16: my italics.

²⁸ *Colleagues*, p. 37. He is a little kinder towards Foliot in *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 293-6.

²⁹ I confess that I normally think of the archbishop as Becket and of his opponent as Gilbert Foliot.

³⁰ Knowles, *Colleagues*, p. 140.

³¹ *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello* (London, 1846), pp. 91-2.

³² *From Becket to Langton*, p. 95: for the incident from the Battle Abbey Chronicle, see p. 94.

³³ *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, edited and translated by H. E. Butler (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 23.

STEPHEN HALES, D.D., F.R.S.*

A. E. CLARK-KENNEDY

JUST over 250 years ago William Stukeley was admitted Pensioner of Benet College, as Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was then called. "My Tutor was Mr Fawcett recommended by my uncle Dodson; my study the first corner on the right; my bed that next the fire. I turned my mind particularly to Physick and began to make inquisition into anatomy and to dissect dogs and all sorts of animals; and saw, too, many Philosophical experiments performed by Mr Waller, Professor of Chemistry and Parson at Grantchester, with", continues Stukeley, "Mr Stephen Hales, also Fellow of the College."

For Hales had come up when Newton was still at Trinity. His Tutor had been Kidman, "a person of Latitudinarian principles; his education wide, classics, mathematics, divinity, and philosophy. In Stukeley's first year he had been ordained Deacon and elected to a Fellowship."

We had an old cat [continues Stukeley] which had been a great favourite of my father's and by mother's consent I did rid her of the infirmities of age and made a handsome skeleton which I carried back to Cambridge. At that time, too, my Tutor gave me a room to practise chymical experiments. Here I often prepared the pulvis fulminans and surprised the College with an explosion in the night. I visited the Apothecary's shop and exercised a little gratis practice among the poor people that depended on the College. Smith, our joiner, promised me his body to dissect when he died in gratitude which happening when I was out of College he expressed much concern that I could not have the benefit of his promise.

When I came back to Cambridge I found Mr Rolf declared Professor of Anatomy. He was curious, too, in the knowledge of botanics and Mr Stephen Hales and he and I used to go frequently asimpling over Gog Magog hills and Cherry-hunt Moor armed with candle boxes and Rays catalogus in our pockets.

Together Hales and Stukeley went to the chemical lectures that Vigani gave in the cloisters of Queens' and to his experiments in the room at Trinity which had been Newton's and later in the elegant chemical laboratory that Bentley built on the bowling

* This paper was given as an address in the Chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to mark the 200th anniversary of his death.

green; also to Roger Cote's lectures on astronomy and used the telescopes over Great Gate. But it was William Stukeley who started his interest in biology. Credit must also go to Fawcett, the classical tutor of Benet, for allowing so free a hand to this very strange young man.

Stukeley went down in 1708, to practise as a doctor in Lincolnshire; later to take Orders and become rector of a London Parish. He also attained a reputation as an antiquarian, although his works are more valuable for the accuracy of his drawings than for the validity of his theories. A few months later Hales was appointed to a country living. It was there, "in Teddington's serene retreat for philosophic studies meet", that he embarked on those remarkable experiments that led him to become the greatest living physiologist since Harvey.

As yet no one had measured the pressure in the arteries and veins. Hales, his eyes set on how the body worked rather than merely on how it was made, now succeeded where others had failed; and made many other observations which have added to our knowledge of the mechanics of the circulation. He estimated the output of the heart per minute, and demonstrated the fundamental fact that the circulation rate of an animal is inversely proportional to its size.

These experiments remained unpublished, however, for nearly twenty years because he now became absorbed in botanical physiology, his first book *Vegetable Statics* opening with an account of the quantity of moisture "imbibed and perspired" by plants. Thence he was able to calculate the velocity of the sap, just as he had calculated that of the blood. But what made it rise? Capillarity alone would not account for it. It must be transpiration from the leaves that kept it going. Clearly they had a function which his immediate predecessors, Malpighi and Grew, had not realized. From these observations his next move was to measure the sap pressure, just as he had measured the blood pressure, and now recorded it in the vine: forty-three feet of water in the early spring!

This force is near five times greater than the force of the blood in a horse, seven times greater than in the dog, and eight times greater than in the fallow doe, which different forces I found by fixing glass tubes in their arteries in which the blood of a horse rose eight feet, a dog six feet, and a fallow doe five feet seven inches.

In 1718 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and a few years later awarded the Copley Medal.

Although now a D.D. of his University, he was no profound theologian. Rather he was one of the Latitudinarian divines of that date who paid little attention to the differences of doctrine and ceremony which divided the high churchmen from the dissenters. Moral dissertations, based on the teaching of the gospels, alternated in his sermons with authoritative pronouncements on the wisdom and goodness of God, supported by arguments from natural science. No mechanistic concept of evolution had yet reared its ugly head.

The study of nature [he wrote] will ever yield us fresh matter of entertainment, and we have every reason to bless God for the abilities he has given us and the strong desire he has implanted in our minds to reach into and contemplate his works, in which the farther we go, the more we see the signatures of his wisdom and power, because in everything we see a wise design. And the further researches we make into this admirable scene of things, the more beauty and harmony we find; and the stronger and clearer convictions they give us of the being, power and wisdom of the divine architect, who has made all things to concur with a wonderful conformity, in carrying on, by various and innumerable combinations of matter, such a circulation of causes and effects as was necessary to the great ends of nature.¹

His personality and his sermons both appealed to his parishioners and it soon became necessary to enlarge the church. Further, his hold over his parishioners was strong. Offenders were required to do public penance for immorality. Later he built a new tower for new bells and engineered a new water supply for the village, both minutely described in the parish register, which also contains many quaint entries; "John Rolt murdered fighting for the Maypole", and "James Parson who had oft eat a shoulder of mutton and peck of hasty pudding at a time which caused his death, Buried". "Ordered that the Stocks be put into repair".

At the age of forty-three he married Mary Neuce, daughter of the Rector of Much Hadham, Herts, but she died a year later (Mary Hales my dear wife was buried Oct. 10. 1721, he wrote in the Register) leaving him childless. Thereafter he lived on alone at Teddington, except for yearly visits to Farrington in Hampshire of which he had been appointed Rector (these were the days of

holding livings in plurality) and where he installed Gilbert White, later of Selborne fame, to be his Curate. He refused a Canonry of Windsor, but he now accepted the appointment of Chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales and took great interest in her children. It was for the future king, George III, that he "contrived an ingenious machine to expedite the preparation of syllabub".

"He was remarkable for social virtue and sweetness of temper," wrote a contemporary, "happy in himself; beneficial to others." Further, he possessed a natural simplicity of manners which the characters of other men and customs of this world could never alter; and, though he often met with many unworthy objects and uncharitable offices, yet they never once lessened his natural and unfailing disposition for doing good and relieving distress. Two things in his character particularly distinguished him from other men; the first was that his mind was so habitually bent on acquiring knowledge that he was solicitous to avoid any further preferment in the Church lest his time and attention might thereby be diverted from his favourite and useful occupations. The other feature of his character was no less singular; he could look even upon wicked men, and those who did him unkind offices, without any emotion or particular indignation; not from want of discernment or sensibility; but he used to consider them only like those experiments which upon trial he found could never be applied to any useful purpose, and which he therefore calmly and dispassionately laid aside.

And so from his character to return to his science. He repeated John Hunter's experiments on the growth of bone and studied the mechanism of that of plants. He observed reflex action in spinal frogs long before Robert Whytt described it in 1757. He embarked on the then unsolved problems of combustion and animal respiration. For oxygen had not been discovered and Stahl's phlogiston theory held the field. Nevertheless, ignoring Stahl, he came to us now tantalizingly near the truth. Certainly, If Mayow can be said to have *virtually* discovered oxygen, Hales *virtually* discovered CO₂. Only when he touched on medicine did his judgement fail. He was a member of the Commission of Noblemen, ecclesiastics, doctors, and scientists who awarded £5,000 of public money to Mrs Joanna Stephens for her alleged medical cure for the stone (for which the surgeons so often cut) and which on being divulged now

proved to consist of "snail shells well calcined and swines cresses burnt to a blackness".

As the years went by although his originality of mind began to decline its vigour never failed, and now we see him turning away more and more from pure science in the direction of its practical application to the needs of his fellow men. He was a co-founder of the Royal Society of Arts and a Trustee of the Colony of Georgia which had been started by General Oglethorpe as an asylum for debtors released from prison in this country. Further, these were the days of Hogarth's *Gin Lane*; "drunk for a penny, dead drunk for two pence". He organized a campaign and wrote pamphlets urging the Government into action in the face of this fast growing social evil, and urging them successfully at last.

Besides gin, the gaol fever, typhus, was also taking an appalling toll of human life and in those days was believed to be due to bad air. It was natural therefore that Hales, as his interests became more and more humanitarian, should switch from the academic study of the physiology of respiration of animals to the practical problem of the ventilation of buildings. The method he advocated, windmills which would suck the foul air out, strikes us now as cumbersome. Yet such was his personality that he got them adopted. They were fixed over many hospitals, notably St George's, and over many prisons, notably Newgate and the Savoy. They were also installed in many ships of the Navy and in many carrying slaves across the Atlantic. When war broke out he even corresponded with the enemy and got them installed in many places where British soldiers were confined in France. To what extent they actually reduced the mortality from typhus (a virus disease conveyed by lice) is doubtful, but they must have improved the conditions under which sailors lived and prisoners were generally confined.

It had been uphill work getting them adopted but now, an old man, he could relax and go back to his first love, pure science, once again. At eighty we see him at his last experiment. It concerned the respiration of fish. "June 7, the wind SW, thermometer 58°, 13 live Gudgeon were put in 2 gallons of fresh pond water in Pail A and a like number in Pail B etc." I am afraid the result was unimportant but I have quoted enough to point the unquenchable experimental spirit of the man, exemplified too by quaint ideas he had about salt water. "If the trial were made in twenty tents", he

wrote, "to so wet the soldiers' bodies in cold weather [he was worrying about the health of our service personnel] it would probably give some light unto the matter," and then a little wearily, "but I know by very much experience that the strong power of indolence in mankind is too great to attempt proper trials and without them useful discoveries cannot be made."

His reputation as a scientist and pioneer of public health was now international. His books had been translated into many languages. Georgia was now a flourishing colony. The Trustees had prevented it being handed over to the Spaniards, as Walpole wanted, and now they had surrendered their mandate to the Crown. The Royal Society of Arts was firmly on its feet. The Gin Act had become Law. (That night there were tears in his eyes for joy.) His windmills raced (when the wind blew) sucking the foul air out of Newgate and the Savoy, out of St George's, out of His Majesty's ships, even out of prisons in France where British were confined. So at the age of eighty he could settle down to his fireside and his books, calmly to wait for death as an acquaintance, we are told, long familiarized to his mind. And it came to him quietly at Teddington two hundred years ago almost to this day in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

"As I know you loved the good old man", wrote Gilbert White from Selborne to a friend a few days later, "I am sending you some anecdotes respecting him. His attention to the inside of ladies tea kettles that from thence he might judge the salubrity of their wells; his advising water to be showered down suspicious wells before men ventured to descend; his teaching the housewife to place an inverted egg cup at the bottom of her tarts and pies to preserve the juice." These are but a few among those benevolent and useful pursuits on which his mind was constantly bent. Though a man of a baronet's family and one of the best houses in Kent, yet was his humility so prevalent that he did not disdain the lowest offices, provided they tended to the good of his fellow creatures. The last act of benevolence on which I saw him employed was at Farringdon, the next parish to this, where I found him in the street with his paint pot before him, and much busied in painting white with his own hands the tops of the foot path posts lest his neighbours might run against them in the dark."

His monument stands in Westminster Abbey but his body lies buried under the tower which he had built himself for the church

which he had loved so well; and it is in the Chapel of his own College in Cambridge that I have been privileged to try to reconstruct for you the living man to-night. His epitaph for all time was written by John Wesley, "How well", he noted in that diary of his the night he heard that Hales had died, "how well did Science and Religion agree in that man of sound understanding."

¹ *Haemastatics*, Hales' second book.

x What's about words like, "love", "read",
'baldness', "on", "the", etc? What do
they refer to?

LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

RAYMOND CHAPMAN

IT HAS been an experience common to great mystics in all ages that the final stage of detachment, the ultimate union with God, has passed beyond both the power of words and the need for words. That language is a frustrating instrument is best known to those who use it most; that it is imperfect is known to all who have had even a glimpse of religious encounter. Yet language is our normal and regular means of communication. It is the only medium that can formulate and fix in the memory even those things which seem to be farthest from its normal reference. The language of religion is beset with many difficulties. How can we describe and discuss the transcendental in terms which are established by reference to things and actions clearly of this material world and within the sequence of progressive time? Yet that is what is attempted by all theologians, all makers of liturgy, all speculative and imaginative religious writers.

The use of language as an instrument of faith rests on two presuppositions:

1. That there is a reality which is the referent of the words that we use about it. This is the basis not only of all symbolism and metaphor but also of language at any level. "Book" is merely a random selection of three phonemes, or four marks on a sheet of paper, unless there is something concrete to which we can point as its referent. Some philosophers insist on stopping here, asserting that words are meaningless unless they have a set of referents perceptible by the senses. Most of us, however, have no difficulty in assuming the existence of real though more subjective referents for words used of the emotions, appetites, aesthetic pleasures, and so on. That we can assume such reality also for the words of theology is a part of faith. It is a presupposition which is expressed in language but cannot be arrived at by purely linguistic exploration. The experiences which give this faith precede and control their precise formulation in language; but, as we shall see, they cannot retrospectively be examined apart from this formulation. If this first proposition is denied, all theological statements are meaningless and have no more value than deliberate nonsense-verse. We

✓ should then be in the position of the theologian who accused the philosopher of looking in a dark cellar for a black cat that wasn't there. "Perhaps," said the philosopher, "but you would have found it." Christians believe that what they are seeking does exist, that it has in fact considerably more ultimate reality than either the philosopher or the theologian.

✓ 2. To use the language of religion is to suppose that there is a correspondence between the transcendental and the immanent, a likeness from which valid analogies can be drawn. It is assumed throughout the Bible that earthly things are a type or pattern of heavenly things—faint and imperfect but adequate for what we need to understand. Similarly, the shadows seen by Plato's cavemen were flat and distorted compared with the reality, but they derived directly from that reality. All that we must learn about the transcendental can be comprehended in this-worldly terms. We know that our comprehension must be limited and incomplete, but it is the grace of God to make it adequate for spiritual progress in our earthly lives. We must know that everything we come to understand about God and his works is imperfectly known, because what we can receive is limited by the circumstances within which we receive it. Even to say that God is good or merciful isolates and therefore misrepresents an aspect of the limitless. Yet a faith based on the Incarnation and the self-limiting of God would make it folly and pride to see in this fact a barrier to expression.

✓ Acceptance of these two propositions makes it possible to formulate linguistic statements which will be satisfactory within the framework of faith. But possibility is not the same as attainment, and here the trouble begins. Religious language that is to fulfil its communicative purpose must be satisfactory within a given situation. Whenever we use language, we address ourselves not to an abstraction but to living individuals. The statements of faith must be relevant in three ways.

First, they must use terms appropriate to the time and place of communication. "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles." This is a major problem at the present time, when we try to show that the Bible is not only an historical record but has a here-and-now reference. Images that drew their first vitality from a life that was lived close to the soil in the Middle East long ago cannot be expected to have the same force in urban Western Europe to-day.

The conditions of life for ordinary people changed so little during the greater part of Christian history that traditional imagery could continue to be a source of power. Recent changes have been so great, and so rapid, that the necessary rethinking has not been carried through in time with them. Missionaries in all parts of the world had previously met similar problems when they began preaching to people whose climate, fauna, and whole way of life was totally different. We are now some way towards recognizing and tackling the problem. Modern religious artists in all media are seeking new images through which to express themselves. Yet there are still too many hymns, sermons, and popular tracts which use imagery that can cause only uncomprehending acquiescence in the believer and a fit of giggles in the inquirer.

The second requirement is more difficult to recognize and to fulfil. Religious symbolism must be relevant to the personal situation. Unless this is achieved, the contact will be sterile. The great recurring images of religious experience communicate widely by speaking to that which is universal within the individual. Yet there are special problems. Luther's family experiences made it impossible for him to think of God as the Father. Love will find no answer in a man who has never for a moment known love in any form. The millions of children who have been born as refugees without a home of their own will not be able to understand how their true home can be in heaven. In cases like this there is need for special and very skilled pastoral care, sustained by the knowledge that divine truth traces and transcends every possible human experience. The Infant Christ too was a refugee.

The problem is similar to that of artistic appreciation. Art seldom if ever creates a completely new experience in the observer; it rather draws out and makes coherent what has already been dimly felt. It makes a little pattern of order in a corner of undisciplined experience. For the full appreciation of *King Lear*, it is not necessary to be an old king who is betrayed and driven mad by two daughters. But it is necessary to have had some experience, however slight, of loneliness and ingratitude. The tragedy may be said to act as a transformer, through which these great events can reach us and yet leave us unbroken. So too, divine omnipotence condescends to our feeble condition and permits us to perceive something of the transcendental in immanent and personal terms.

Yet it is not enough to find a point of contact in the temporal

life of the individual. Religious language is relevant only as a part of religious experience, and this must be our third requirement. In every instance it must arise from, and reach towards, that special Godward relationship which has been called the Encounter (Bultmann's *Begegnung*). Religious statements communicate to those who are aware that the visible, sensible world is not the whole reality. Christian language in particular communicates only to those who have reached this awareness through experience not of vague numinosity but of the Person of Christ. It is certainly possible for religious statements which fulfil our first two criteria—relevance to the situation and relevance to the personal experience—to be supplemented by the imagination of the unbeliever to the point of objective understanding. "So this is what Christians believe", he may say—applying the offered symbols to his personal referents and finding some degree of correspondence. But this is not the intention of a religious statement. This level of language is not meant to give factual knowledge or to transmit a skill or "know-how"; it is not meant even to arouse a sympathetic emotional attitude. It exists to extend the Encounter, entering each private frame of duration and locality. It does not explore the divine from the viewpoint of safely-rooted humanity. It asserts that humanity by itself is incomplete and in error; it uses a human skill to expose and make actual the truths of divine revelation.

From this angle there may be an approach to some of the linguistic problems of modern theologians. Bultmann and the Christian Existentialists are surely right to stress the importance of the individual Encounter. The statement of religious dogma remains an empty mouthing of sounds until it links up with a personal experience of God as revealed in Christ. Christian faith is not linguistic assent to a number of linguistic propositions. Where the error comes is in the supposition that the Encounter can stand existentially alone and has no need of any objectively-stated record. The presence of the risen Christ cannot be recognized without knowledge of the story of the incarnate and crucified Christ. Unless we understand that it is not only possible but necessary to state Christian truths in linguistic terms, faith becomes a vague awareness of "something other", a Wordsworthian "Sense of something far more deeply interfused". St Paul on the Damascus road felt at first the presence of power. The question was demanded from him—"Who art thou, Lord?" and was

* What you say here may be true, but not helpful to those who do not understand the meaning of "personal experience as God etc."

* May be, but what does that mean?

answered—"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest". At that moment, Paul's personal knowledge of events seen and reported on earth became the open gateway to his understanding of heavenly things. The Encounter depended on his objective knowledge of recent events in Jerusalem. Then there is the question of the Ethiopian eunuch—"Of whom speaketh the prophet thus?" He too had felt the attraction of divine truth brought to him in linguistic terms, but it needed the meeting with Philip to make the Encounter complete.

Those who want to "demythologize" do not of course suggest that there should be no linguistic communication of faith. They do say, however, that the original formulations of Christian doctrine were imperfect, based on inadequate understanding of the natural world and the laws of science, and they can be understood only symbolically. The modern Christian is at liberty to restate them, out of his own personal Encounter with Christ. In short, the story that Philip told the Ethiopian eunuch will not do for the intelligent inquirer of the twentieth century. The existential needs of the one are different from those of the other. The Apostles described their experience of the Resurrection in terms of first-century cosmology. Our superior knowledge requires different language.

Where does all this bring us? If the suggestions made earlier about the validity of Christian statements are true, can we hold at all to the traditional way of communicating the Christian story? Are we bound to restate everything that the Christian Church has taught, or else to lose Christianity as a living faith because the original mode of its formulation is no longer meaningful?

Let us look again at the second proposition made about religious language in general. Earthly things can be true symbols of heavenly things: true in the sense that the ideas communicated through those symbols will lead us to understand the truth so far as our finite being allows. The Gospel is told in earthly terms, never leaving the familiar surroundings and never going beyond that which can be observed by the senses, however strange and wonderful some of the observations may be. There is no attempt in the canonical writings to penetrate the mysteries of Resurrection and Ascension beyond that which was vouchsafed to human eyes and ears. Are we then to suppose that the first witnesses were given a vague message of hope, that the great story was put at the disposal of their imaginations? Faith demands assent not only to the

propositions of the New Testament but also to the mode of their presentation. It is not possible to separate revelation from the manner in which it has been revealed. No doubt the central truths *could* have been revealed and expressed in other ways. If the events had taken place in different historical circumstances the story would have been a different one. But such speculations challenge the perfection of divine purpose. The separation of *kerygma* and *mythos* is a false separation, because Christians have never received—it may be said, have not been permitted to receive—the one without the other.

It is argued by some that the *mythos* is unacceptable to modern man because it rests on a foundation that scientific knowledge proves to be false. But the language of theology does not grow from the same class of presuppositions as the language of science. All statements about God and his works are meaningless in the strict sense, since they express the infinite and unobservable in terms of the finite and observable. Are we to assume that modern science has the last word, that the twentieth-century view of the world is complete and final? Scientists will admit that their knowledge is growing and that there has been more than one revolution in their cosmology. Does each generation need a restatement of *mythos* according to the latest developments?

Some theologians would apparently argue that it does. They would assert the relativity of the *mythos* and the permanence of the *kerygma*. Yet it is through “mythological” statements that the *kerygma* can be made permanent and transmissible. These statements must use the terms in which the work of redemption was first revealed to men. Otherwise there is no continuing tradition, no guarantee that the faith is held entire from one generation to the next. The importance of the individual existential Encounter is rightly stressed. But who can distinguish the true Encounter from delusion, unless this Godward experience is given some linguistic shape, is in fact checked against the linguistically transmitted knowledge of Christ’s saving acts?

Here then is a dilemma: how to reconcile the need for continual restatement of Christian truth in terms that shall have immediate relevance, with the claims of the New Testament to be a complete and final revelation of God’s nature and will. It can be resolved only if we recognize two ways of expressing Christian truth, two kinds of symbolism. First, there are the primary symbols of God’s

purposeful meeting with man, his reaching out to the world of sense. These must be considered permanently valid, so long as man's understanding is finitely limited. To call Christ the Son of God is obviously not to make a complete and literal identification with a human relationship. Yet it is central to the doctrines of the Incarnation and of the Trinity, so that we cannot venture to alter it. The same applies to the terms expressing the Ascension, which hold an absolute truth about the glorified humanity of Christ. It was the will of God so to teach the truth to the Apostles and so to have it taught by them. "A cloud received him out of their sight", so that all might be concluded in the visible, human-directed terms that had begun in a visible stable at Bethlehem. To say that such a doctrine is a barrier to faith to-day is to make difficulties where few if any exist. The chief barrier to faith is still human rebellion, the proud rejection of obedience. So-called intellectual difficulties are usually excuses, seldom more than on the periphery.

There are the secondary symbols too, the symbols which may be called the poetry of faith, and these are open to change. To call Christ the Lamb of God is on a different plane from calling him the Son of God. It presupposes an understanding of the pastoral scene, and of certain ideas of sacrifice, which is hardly to be expected to-day. So too the description of the heavenly kingdom as the City of God rests on a belief in the divine ordering of a hierarchical society which the modern city certainly does not present. Indeed, even the word "Kingdom" will not appeal to all modern men. These are symbols chosen from many possible ways of expressing transcendental truth in immanent terms. They are valid, but not essential. "This also is thou: neither is this thou."

This distinction seems to be of the highest importance, if we are to approach the task of communicating in our generation without losing any part of the catholic tradition. It will be found that the primary symbols remain of universal application. The individual Encounter will express itself through them, since it is every time an Encounter with the risen Christ; and that phrase implies all that the Gospels tell us of Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection. For sonship, love, giving and acceptance, the fear and suffering of death, are all part of common human experience. The glory and wonder of the gospels is that resurrection is shown in the same comprehensible terms.

The secondary symbols are material for the artist. They are part of the poetry of Christianity—which is not the same thing as Christian poetry. It is here that the imagination can range freely, selecting from the complexity of human life those referents which may have symbolic power to communicate some aspect of Christian revelation. Here the only test for a symbolic mode of linguistic expression is its fitness to communicate, to arouse an appropriate response in the actual, present situation of a living individual. Here we may humbly follow our Lord in devising analogies, as he did in his parables, for the truth that has been revealed to us. And just as a society which neglects its poets and artists is in danger of a technically-obsessed decadence, so theology too must not lose its imagination.

The conclusion then is that we cannot “get behind” religious statements to test the reality of that which is thus described, any more than we can “get behind” the gospels and find someone called “the historical Jesus of Nazareth”. Our knowledge of Christ comes to us through the writings of the early witnesses, and if such writing is not historical there is no revealed truth, and probably no history worth recording. Our apprehension of the mysteries of faith exists only so far as it can be expressed in linguistic terms. Except perhaps for the specially favoured mystic, the way to union with God lies through the power to make analogies, to live in this world as a real place while believing that it can also be the type of a greater world unseen. That is at the root of theology, of liturgy, and of prayer, and it makes language not only a convenient tool but also a sacred messenger.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OR EDUCATED CHRISTIANS?

A pastoral approach to the rôle of the Aided Parochial Primary School in the Corporate life and Mission of the Church.

A. F. BELL

I HAVE chosen the title for this paper deliberately and perhaps provocatively because I seek to recall attention from the administrative and material problems that have tended to dominate our thinking for many years, to the pastoral and evangelical challenge that the evolving pattern of national education presents.

We need to escape from a habit of mind which has fastened upon us in the wake of and in consequence of the Education Act; a habit of mind which might be expressed briefly as peace at all costs, or the posing of the question what does the law permit? rather than, "what am I impelled to do to bring these children nearer to Christ?"

The great Education Act is now sixteen years old. In terms of years that does not seem very long, but it is a long enough time for its effects to be plainly visible in the younger generations. Such are the demands caused by the technological revolution in industry, the spread of automation, that an expansion of the provisions of the act to secure still further educational opportunities of all kinds seems just round the corner.

Sixteen years ago, many who had Church schools very much at heart, were daunted and dispirited by the immense challenge which the massive State plan seemed to forebode. Perhaps at the time there was a tendency to feel that the resources of spiritual grace must wilt before the tide of State spending. Many schools became controlled; it seemed as though in the course of years scarcity of funds for capital improvements would result in the loss of many more, and few new schools could be built in the new housing areas.

The prophets of gloom have not been justified. The Church now has about as many schools as she has adequate resources to maintain. The State has acknowledged her debt with un hoped-for generosity. This is surely a time when we should return from thinking about the pence, to the study of the place of education in pastoral theology.

The purpose of the 1944 Act in its religious clauses was to secure, as far as possible, a common Christian foundation for the whole national system of education. It embodies to the full the British genius for compromise; perhaps the greatest qualities required at the time were patience and tolerance. The leaders of the Church had to look to the nation rather than the Church's own confessional requirements. There is little doubt that the daily act of worship, the agreed syllabus, the compromise resulting in controlled schools, provided an amazingly fruitful foundation, where there might have been a spiritual vacuum. Within sixteen years the clouds of anti-clericalism have dispersed, the clergy are beginning to be welcomed in county schools, the education act itself may more than we can ever know be the root for the growth of inter-denominational charity and understanding.

Nevertheless there is a heavy debit balance. For this there are two root causes. For a clear and reasoned exposition of the lack of a theological basis of thought in Religious Education, I refer you to Canon Lumb's book *The Education of Souls*.¹ It represents a valiant attempt by an Anglican priest to expound a Catholic view of the basis of Religious Education with a due regard for the principles of the Book of Common Prayer and the responsible position within the national system held by the Established Church.

The first root cause is the circumstantial way in which education has grown up in the past one hundred and fifty years. Church and State have always been racing to keep up with the insatiable progress of industrialized society. There has been literally no time to think. "Present R.E. has come about as a series of improvisations in the face of adverse circumstances."

That this has been in part the fault of the Church is not disputed. Until the Renaissance no one doubted the total authority of the Church in all branches of learning. This authority was nominally retained long after the assumptions on which it had been based had been questioned and found wanting. Her leaders have often found themselves for years defending with the utmost tenacity a stronghold which had already been breached.

The second root cause is the unique constitutional position of an established Church within the national life. The Church of England has claimed a special responsibility for the spiritual condition of the nation, and this makes it morally impossible for her to be in-

transigent even when the State demands her co-operation on very mixed grounds.

This means (a) that Church schools can never be sectarian or ultra-montane in the sense that Free Church and Roman Catholic schools tend to be. It also means (b) that the Church has a double vision, one might almost say she is schizophrenic in her understanding of the ends which all education serves in her own schools and of the means for attaining her ends, as enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer.

Through such a work as *Christian Education*² by Bishop Leeson—a great treatise—there runs the strain that the Church should take the high idealism of the humanist administrator and add something to it. Lumb asserts, and I believe convincingly, that this betrays the *raison d'être* of Church schools and ultimately undermines the established Church's responsibility within the national system. He recalls us to theology, to the Christian doctrine of man and to the Catholic account of the operation of the Grace of God through the two great sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion. "At the head of each page of a syllabus of R.I. for children or adults might be written the question, 'by what authority?', and it should be possible to find the answer in baptism."³ And again: "Modern man assumes he was born to live. The apostolic Christian could not forget that he was born to die."⁴

If we are to see clearly why our own schools are so vital, we must be able to discern the theological deficiencies of what the county school is allowed to provide. I would put the nature of this deficiency in two words: the liturgy and the catechism, in that order. For a child cannot learn the power of grace from the catechism, but he can experience it in the liturgy, and the careful teaching of the catechism will interpret the liturgy to his mind.

Is it merely Eastern Orthodox to say that the liturgy is the life-blood of the Church and that if a child does not grow up within it, he is in grave danger of spiritual decay? "Where stands the Church school? All the evidence suggests that the national system is not producing educated Christians."

The test of a Church School is this, that it turns out some, perhaps not very many, children with the foundation of a living, dynamic, and assured faith, which will not only support them through life but communicate itself through them to others. Church schools are not at a disadvantage. Their prestige in

academic and in human terms, even in spite of most inadequate buildings, is growing. But there are two indications that suggest the Church has an unparalleled opportunity for leadership and pioneer work at the present time.

(a) The breeze of change is blowing in educational theory. G. H. Bantock, a leading thinker in education, writes very critically in a recent book, *Freedom and Authority in Education*,⁵ of the prevailing enthusiasm for free activity in Primary Schools. "To face young children with the continual necessity of choice which is what in fact progressive theorists do, is to remove from children the sense of security which an imposed ritual can often afford immature minds. To have to perform set tasks at a set time creates with young children a background of security that is vital to their development." "No child is free to choose, until he is already sufficiently disciplined to see the implications of his choice."

If the substance of this is true for the classroom, it should give us a renewed faith in the disciplined use of the liturgy of the Church in school.

(b) The Crowther report emphasizes the over-riding priority now being given to secondary and higher education. On the face of it the motives for this priority are unashamedly material and political. The wisdom of it has been seriously questioned. Primary schools are very plainly the "Cinderellas" in the educational world. One suspects that the word "primary" has lost its original meaning. Their managers and teachers are up against enormous difficulties, which do not appear to decrease. It is difficult to see how the vast expansion of secondary education will yield dividends unless there is more perception of the needs of younger children. Only the Church has the power to show the administrators how damaging this lack of proportion is going to prove. For the Church's great authority lies in primary education.

The Parochial School. The Church primary schools, whether aided or controlled, are by origin and in organization, parochial schools. They grew out of the needs of a community whose centre was the Church. Their existence to-day is a measure of the vitality of parochial life. Aided schools remain aided because the people were sufficiently aware of their heritage to support them. But in many cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, their key position in the community is barely realized.

The aim should be to build the schools into the corporate life of the parish.

In his book, *Tomorrow's Church*,⁶ Fr Gibbard, S.S.J.E., speaks of the signs of new life in the Church amid the current secularism. He enumerates them as:

1. The trend towards more positive theological thinking.
2. The growing sense of the Christian community.
3. Liturgical worship.
4. The apostolate of the whole Church.

If this is the outcome of a vital parochial life, it is not hard to see what a crucial part a parish school may have in its formation. Further, Fr Gibbard goes on to enumerate five principles underlying every approach made by the Church to her children:

1. She must bring children to Christ by bringing them under her influence.
2. She must aim to bring them fully into the worship of the Church.
3. She must give systematic teaching. We must contest the assertion that the child's chief need is information secular or religious. The child needs above all to worship God, for that is the purpose of his existence.
4. The Church must bring the children to experience her community life.
5. She must strive to guide them in the life-long process of conversion.

None of this can mean anything unless the congregation and the parents are taught what their school stands for, and to be aware of their responsibility for it. Behind the parochial school stands the tradition of the Church stretching back often for hundreds of years. The spiritual power of the school is in proportion to the extent the people appreciate it, pray for it, support it and befriend it. Behind the county school there cannot be any such united spiritual heritage. That is true even of many parishes where the bonds between Church and school are very strong.

Circumstances differ profoundly in city and country, but even in the cities primary schools are in the main parochial, and the relationship between school and parish follows the same pattern. It

may be of interest if I state briefly how in a City parish I saw this common life developing.

I served in the parish of Clapham during the period of build-up for a mission which was led by Fr Gibbard. I am not concerned here with the fortnight's mission and its effects, but the fact that there was a mission cannot be dissociated from the growth in corporate life and responsibility that preceded it.

1. The headmistress was a convinced Anglican and a regular communicant both on Sundays and weekdays. She gave most of her time and energy to the school and parish.
2. The Local Education Authority service book was displaced entirely in school assembly, apart from use as a hymn book. A consistent plan for the use of the Prayer Book was drawn up.
3. A weekly service was held in Church for all the senior children.
4. All parochial youth activities were linked at the lowest age group to the senior class of the parochial school, i.e. Cubs, Brownies, G.F.S., Boys' Club.
5. The school shared in the care of the church and churchyard.
6. The children helped in parochial activities whenever possible.
7. An annual reunion and service was instituted for old scholars. and through this a number of older boys and girls were back to regular worship and the social life of the parish.
8. The Eucharist was celebrated once a year for the school in Lent. I would reject this as quite inadequate. It tended to be a demonstration, and was regarded by the children in retrospect as a novelty number. Do special services, however beautiful, and moving, have the profound spiritual effect that people constantly claim for them?
9. Fund for the building of a new school.

This is not exhaustive. Much of it must appear very obvious. What appeared noticeably through it all was a quickening of the interest and concern of the congregation for the school, reflected finally in a conviction that new buildings were a matter of urgency and that the parish must take the lead in pressing for them.

The Parochial School and the Liturgy. I suppose it is an axiom that the Book of Common Prayer is the canon of Christian teaching and worship in our schools. But if the clergy are honest with

themselves they are a bit frightened of it. Our attitude tends to be—"It's a bit too difficult for children: our people hardly know how to use it in church, can we really put it across authoritatively to our children as a vehicle of truth and grace?"

This is the root of the frequent attitude of the day school teacher that the Book of Common Prayer is a difficult textbook. This renders it dead at once in the eyes of the child. It is not a textbook. It is the living voice through which the Body of Christ shows forth to the world his saving work. It is the outward clothing of our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Therefore not only must the children be taught that what they do on Monday or any other weekday morning is the same as the parish does on Sunday, but they must see that this is true. If the prayer book can be brought alive in its primary work of making our worship articulate, it certainly will not be moribund as a vehicle of instruction.

How is this to be done? The key lies in the bridging of the gulf that still exists between the church's children and the adult congregation.

We all know the sort of remark that indicates this gulf. After a carol service or a celebration of the Holy Communion in which the children join, a devout person will say with genuine surprise—"How quiet the children were. How reverent and well behaved!" I remember after confirmation classes started one year, I saw two lads, who were scouts, waiting nervously some distance from the church door before Mattins. They had been often to church as scouts, but to come as members of the congregation was a tremendous ordeal.

What is the real value of special services? Within the national system services at Harvest, Ascension, Christmas, and End of Term, have been heralded as a tremendous step forward in linking the children with the worshipping Church. This may be so, though there is little enough evidence that it increases the Sunday school or helps to bring forward confirmation candidates.

In parochial schools any tendency to rely on special services would seem to undermine the whole concept of worship which week by week and day by day clergy and teachers are trying to foster in the life of the child, namely, that worship is an *opus dei*, its own justification.

It would seem that nothing less than a weekly experience of the liturgy whether of the Eucharist, or an adapted form of the office,

in which great care is taken and perhaps a whole period of Religious Instruction devoted to it, can draw the child into the meaning of what he is doing. Far from detracting from Sunday worship it will give him a greater desire to be present. The only thing it may detract from is a Sunday School which by contrast is utterly inadequate, with weary clergy, untrained teachers and jejune worship. Such a situation the congregation and the Sunday School teachers will be very slow to realize. There may be innumerable distractions and irresponsible parents, but children have a very sound taste for what is good and well organised.

A weekday liturgy for the school will have no lasting effect unless the congregation and eventually the parents are drawn in. In the Anglican tradition there is a loss in the Eucharist if there are no communicants; a loss which children are quick to notice. There are always parishioners ready to come and I believe this to be true also of the office which the school offers.

The Daily Liturgy of the Church. There are all sorts of pertinent objections to this approach to the life of a parochial school. Of these the administrative and legal objections seem the least important. The objections that dishearten are those which stem from the ambiguous and misunderstood rôle of the Established Church in the life of the nation. "Are you not deliberately driving a wedge between the Church and the county schools? Do you wish to create an atmosphere of tension rather than the happy one of compromise? Parents don't mind instruction for their children, but they don't want commitment for them or involvement for themselves. What evidence have you that the clergy, let alone the laity, take this view of the purpose of the Church's liturgy?"

In constructing a sound defence against these quite legitimate objections there appear to be two fundamental questions that require a thorough and reasoned answer.

1. What is the theological basis for the Church's claim for authority over its schools? i.e. What do you really believe a Church School is for?
2. A wider question—what does the Church really believe about its liturgy?

For a full answer to the first, I would refer you again to Reginald Lumb's book *The Education of Souls*. It is not necessary to agree with all he says to see that he wrestled with a real problem to which far too little thought has been devoted. His contention is

briefly this: that educational theory is dominated by the assumption that the mind is the primary object of teaching, and that this is tacitly accepted by the Church, and that it can be shown to be false. "The proper and immediate end of Christian Education is to co-operate with divine grace in forming the true and perfect Christian; that is to form Christ himself in those regenerated by baptism."

Clearly secular authority could not frame an educational system to this end even if it wished; but nothing short of this ideal should be the objective of the Church in those schools where she exercises her full pastoral ministry.

And this will mean striving for a tension and not a synthesis within the whole framework of the education act; tension is not disruptive; in some circumstances it is the only fruitful means of making good a compromise settlement. I conceive that such a rôle has been allotted to the Church by the Education Act and that in this rôle the Church stands or falls by the way in which she develops and uses her parochial schools. Her schools will only be properly appreciated when parents realize that they cannot send their children to them without themselves thinking seriously of the ultimate ends of life and their obligations as baptized Christians. The state can only be provoked, if the Church fails to respect the individual freedom of conscience that the Education Act demands.

It is tempting to think that Church schools exist to provide the best of the Education Act, with something added, a something that people are only too ready to equate with better social atmosphere, a pleasant homely spirit. This is not so: it would be disastrous for our schools to be regarded as a halfway house to the fee-paying school.

The second question may well seem to be outside the scope of this paper, but it cannot be ignored, for it is evident that multitudes of our people who have received and in some degree accepted the teaching of Church schools never come to see the relevance of her liturgy or the obligation of regular worship. Many indeed will point to this fact as proof that the whole history of Church schools has been a failure and that nothing is lost by relinquishing them.

One does not have to be an eccentric or an enthusiastic innovator to believe in the principles of the liturgical movement; the laity do not see the relevance of the liturgy to daily life; and such a student of English life as A. L. Rowse, though not a believer, is

shrewd enough to see its consequences for the nation's moral and social life.

Bishop Leeson has written, "We must put the faith back at the heart of Education, and that means that we must put it back at the heart of the national life." The faith cannot be taught to non-worshipping children. What they must experience is the living power of the liturgy.

What does the Church really believe about its liturgy? In our desperation at the failure of our people to come to the House of God, we tempt them there with all kinds of special services, not only for our schools but on the Sundays when traditional motives draw them. Is the office of value only to priests, monks, and theological students, apart from the musical aesthetes who may attend the cathedral services? Quite recently someone who should have known better expressed utter surprise to my wife that the clergy are bound to recite the office.

In the miasma of secularism that permeates every corner of human activity the one instinctive and self-preserving action of the Church is to identify itself ever more closely with its corporate worship. The dangers are obvious and perhaps the English are so obsessed with the dangers that they forget the vocational and missionary power of the liturgy.

Could not our schools become the seed-bed whence the liturgy could regain its power and life first within the Church itself, and eventually throughout the nation? It might be necessary to challenge the letter of the act on what constitutes religious instruction, but if this is the truth, then our schools exist to put it to the test. What we do with our children is important, but the foundations have to be laid in the members of the teaching profession. There are I think two vital needs:

A short time ago two men, one a priest, became the first professed members of a new religious order, the Community of the Glorious Ascension. Their aim is not to found a monastic school, or to work on the traditional lines of existing religious with teaching vocations. They intend to go out from the priory to the schools of the city, whether county or Church schools, as ordinary teachers, taking with them their rule of life, and their commitment to our Lord. Their Burnham scale salaries will largely serve to expand their work. This is surely a sign of the Spirit's leading, an indication in education as in parochial work of the truth of the motto *reculer*

pour mieux sauter. If this movement is blessed it will put the total claims of the gospel before children and teachers in an arresting way.

There is a grave need for teachers to grow in fellowship with the clergy in prayer and study. Canon Lumb makes out a very good case for such a development on a deanery level. Much lip-service is paid to the spiritual demands that Religious Instruction and the daily assembly make on a primary school teacher, but in fact he is more often than not out on a limb; such help as the diocese affords is far too remote, and the resources of a single parish are nearly always inadequate. As Canon Lumb says, the present situation demands a deanery education group with a deanery education officer nominated by the bishop to feed teachers in their vocation, to keep them constantly in touch with each other, and to give a sound foundation for the training of Sunday school teachers and other educational commitments of the Church.

Reduced to its simplest terms, what I have been trying to say is that the dynamic faith of the Church must be expressed through its liturgy, and that our schools provide the means to bridge the gap which exists in the minds of the laity between the corporate worship of God and the exigencies of daily life.

There is a danger in looking for the fruits of a Church school in a large number of confirmation candidates. In the city to-day most confirmation candidates have very little active support from the home but the Spirit still moves them. What we can expect is a very much firmer groundwork in the child who has been to a parochial school.

In Clapham it was not at all easy to take a child from the school and one from elsewhere in the same confirmation class, for we had to teach at two levels.

The prophet summed up the duty of man in the verse—"What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" It is because the Church knows that the last requirement is the condition of the fulfilment of the other two that she can claim in all humility to offer her schools as a model, however imperfect, of what Christian education is.

¹ Reginald Lumb, Faith Press, 1952.

² Spencer Leeson, Longmans, 1947.

³ Lumb, p. 28.

⁴ Ibid., p. 58.

⁵ Faber, 1952.

⁶ S. M. Gibbard, S.S.J.E., S.P.C.K., 1950.

PREACHING THE COLLECTS

FRANCIS C. LIGHTBOURN

EVERY clergyman at some time or other has been at the point of despair over the question, What shall I preach about next Sunday?

One remedy for this condition, if it is not too late in the week, is to sit down quietly, study the liturgical Epistle or Gospel (or other similar passage) with the aid of commentaries, and write a sermon on one of these portions of Scripture. Such a sermon will aim to present as clearly as possible the meaning of the passage chosen, and then to apply its essential message in terms of to-day.

This type of preaching—expository preaching—is the highest type of preaching that there is. It is not necessarily easy; in fact it is probably the hardest kind to carry out effectively. But it does to a degree solve the basic problem of what on earth to tell one's people the next Sunday. For it throws the preacher upon the Word of God itself; it forces him to ponder the meaning and application of that Word; and it allows him so to yield to the Spirit's influence that what he preaches may indeed turn out to be the very utterance of the Spirit speaking through human lips.

Expository preaching of the Epistle or Gospel, then, is one solution to the pressing problem, What am I going to preach about? But why not vary the procedure somewhat and occasionally at least preach an expository sermon on the Collect for the day? There are at least three advantages in so doing.

The Collects are relatively short—much shorter than any of the present liturgical Epistles and Gospels. Their structure and sequence of ideas are relatively simple. There is nothing, for example, in any of the Collects comparable to the exegetical intricacies of such a passage as Gal. 3. 16f (from the Epistle for the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity):

To Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one; And to thy seed, which is Christ. And this I say, That the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect. . . . Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one. . .

Instead of this sort of thing, what we usually have in the Collects is a straightforward progression of thought, easily analysable into a few simple component parts.

An example is the Collect for the Second Sunday in Lent:

Almighty God, who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves; Keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls; that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul. . . .

Here the ideas are: (1) the insufficiency of human nature to maintain its integrity apart from God; (2) the composite character of human nature, made up as it is of body and soul; (3) the calling upon God—and hence the need of God's grace—in order that body and soul together may be “defended from all adversities”. A sermon on Christian salvation, emphasizing that such salvation is not just of men's souls but of men's bodies also, is one possibility here.

Thus the comparative brevity and simplicity of structure of the Collects is one inducement to using them as the basis of expository preaching.

Another advantage of such a use of the Collects is their integral connection with the act of worship. Sermons on the Collects are truly liturgical sermons. So, too, are sermons on the Epistles and Gospels. But the Collect has a further advantage in this connection: it is the one part of the proper for the day that belongs not only to the Eucharist but to Morning and Evening Prayer as well. A sermon on the Collect for the day, so far as its point of departure is concerned, will do equally well for Morning Prayer, the Eucharist, or Evening Prayer.

But perhaps the highest reason for preaching the Collects is their own intrinsic merit. The Collects are saturated with the devotion of the ages. And their theology is of the sublimest and the best. In them God is made to bulk very big indeed. “Lord of all power and might, who art the author and giver of all good things . . .”; “O Almighty God, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men . . .”; “O God, who declarest thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity . . .”

In similar fashion the smallness, the weakness, the insufficiency of man—apart from the prevenient and concomitant grace of God—are again and again in the Collects stressed: “O God, who

knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright . . ."; "O God, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee . . ."

The Collects are replete with the majesty and transcendence of God, with the divine initiative, with the insufficiency of human effort unaided by divine grace. They are God-centred rather than man-centred. Or, to change the figure somewhat, they may in a sense be man-centred in that their middle section has to do with man and his needs; but it is always with the needs of man as a child of God that the Collects are concerned. They begin with God—"O Almighty God, who . . ."—and they end with God—"Through Jesus Christ our Lord . . ."

In preaching from the Collects, as in any other kind of expository preaching, the preparation of the preacher himself is all-important. He can take courage, however, in the relative straightforwardness and simplicity of the exegesis of the Collects. Comparatively little material by way of commentary on the Collects has been produced, though there is some, and it would be well for the preacher to make use of what there is.

Perhaps the most generally accessible material on the Collects is the relevant section in *Liturgy and Worship*.¹ This does not give very much, but it does give something as to the origin of the Collects for the Year.

Somewhat more extensive treatment of the Collects is found in the section on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels in Massey H. Shepherd's *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*. This work, as its title indicates, is geared to the American Prayer Book; but as most of the Collects are the same as in the English Book—and indeed other Anglican liturgies—Anglican clergymen everywhere should find it helpful, at least for the purpose under consideration. It might here be added, also, that Dr Shepherd, in another book of his, characterizes as "still the best exposition of the doctrine and devotional meaning of the Prayer Book Collects"² an old work—*The Collects of the Day, An Exposition Critical and Devotional of the Collects appointed at the Communion*.³

Finally, a very concise article on the Collects, giving the Latin text of the pre-Reformation ones, and commenting briefly upon the changes made in subsequent revisions of the Prayer Book, is to be found in *The Prayer Book Dictionary*.⁴

An important question arises in this connection. In the case of a Collect originally written in Latin, in which the Latin version carries some interesting and edifying point not so clearly brought out in the English, may one in his exposition follow the Latin and make the Collect mean what it means in the original? I think that one may with full propriety do this. An example is the Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity:

O God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy; Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that, thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal . . .

In the Latin original the "things temporal" through which we pray for a safe transit are *bona temporalia*, "temporal goods", and there is no equivalent for "finally", the Latin reading simply *sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus aeterna*—"may so pass through temporal goods that we (here and now) lose not the things eternal".

Thus expounded the whole Collect carries a very direct message for a secularist age in need of constant reminder that the good things of this life—the labour-saving devices, the conveniences, the gadgets of present-day civilization—can be a veritable set of reefs upon which our lives can become shipwrecked, if we have not God as "our ruler and guide" as "pilot and helmsman" of our ship.

But of course not everything that the preacher unearths about the Collects should go into his sermon. Study about the Collects he must, if he is to preach on them effectively; but, as in the exposition of Holy Scripture, he should make himself master of more than he expects or deems it wise to give out from the pulpit.

Preaching the Collects can be deadly dull or of absorbing interest, depending upon how it is done. It would be possible, for example, to take the last named Collect, that for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity, and proceed somewhat in this fashion:

In the Collect which the Church gives us for this Fourth Sunday after Trinity, we call upon God, "the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy", to "increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that, thou being our ruler

and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal."

The Collects, most of them, were written originally in Latin. And in the Latin that underlies this particular Collect, there is a message for us that does not come out as clearly or as sharply in Cranmer's English, majestic though that be. In the original Latin of this Collect, the word translated in our version "ruler" is *rector*, which sometimes means the pilot of a ship; and while our English version mentions our "passing through things temporal", a literal rendering of the Latin would read "pass through temporal good things" (*bona temporalia*). Thus in the Latin of the Collect we pray God that, with him as the pilot of the ship of our lives, we may "so pass through temporal good things, that we lose not the things eternal".

We may say, then, that the good things of this life are like reefs against which a ship may flounder if it has not a pilot. It is the pilot who keeps the ship on a straight course so that it veers neither too much to this side, nor too much to that, but stays on an even course until it is safely docked in the harbour. So too must God be the pilot of our lives, else these will founder even on the good things of this life. . .

There is no need to round this out into a full sermon. It is obviously a dull beginning. There is nothing in particular wrong with the content, but it is presented in an amateurish, lifeless manner. The first paragraph quotes the Collect almost in full; and, while it might not always be wrong to begin a sermon with the words, "In the Collect for to-day". it is advisable to keep such a lead as a last resort and to try, if possible, to find a more interesting one.

To make things still worse, the sermon goes on, after a rather poor opening, to mention the Latin original of the Collect. It is unfortunate that in our day and age the classics have sunk to the low esteem that they have but one might as well face the fact that this is so, and that people are not over-eager to hear what amounts to a lecture on some point of Latin grammar immediately after an otherwise bad opening.

The Collects suffer an initial disadvantage from being clothed in a language which, for all its beauty, is archaic by to-day's standards. If the message of the Collects is to be made meaningful to the present generation—and I would not be writing this paper if I thought that the Collects were devoid of meaning for to-day—they must be shown to say, albeit in language of the sixteenth

century, essentially what we regard as relevant in the twentieth. In other words, an *indirect* approach is best in preaching the Collects. If possible, don't begin by introducing the Collect. Try to begin with some vivid modern illustration or metaphor or problem, and then proceed to show how the thought of the Collect answers the problem, or how the metaphor throws light upon the thought of the Collect.

I now give another opening for a sermon on this same Collect, in which the Collect itself is not referred to until the second paragraph. No doubt there are points about this sermon that could be criticized, but it will be agreed, I think, that its opening is a better, stonger one :

In the Atlantic ocean, some seven hundred miles from New York and about the same distance from the West Indies, lie the Bermuda Islands—a tiny speck on the map, but a well-known tourist resort. The Bermuda Islands, as you may know, are surrounded by coral reefs. A veritable network of coral formation lies below water surface for miles around. So complex is this that large vessels stand in danger of being wrecked upon it. A ship of any size must lie at anchor several miles out, until the pilot comes aboard. These pilots, natives of Bermuda, have practically grown up in the Bermuda waters. They know every nook and corner of this reefy formation. So, the moment he boards, the pilot takes charge of the ship, and through this intricate jungle of rocks steers the vessel safely toward the pier.

It is a picture like this that the Collect for to-day suggests. For in to-day's Collect we pray that "we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal". As a ship is enabled by the pilot to pass through the reefs on either side, and is thus brought safely to dock, so do we pray that we "may so pass through things temporal [the things of this life], that we finally lose not the things eternal [that we may finally reach the harbour of God's heaven]".

We make this prayer on the avowed belief that God is "our ruler and guide"—our pilot, we might almost say : "O God, the protector of all that trust in thee, without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy; Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy; that, thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal, that we finally lose not the things eternal . . ."

"Thou being our ruler and guide." The word here rendered "ruler" is in the Latin sometimes used for the pilot of a ship. And in the Latin version of this prayer, it is through the "good things" of this

life that we ask for safe passage. We pray that, with God as our pilot, we may so pass through *bona temporalia*—temporal goods, the good things of this world, “that we lose not [even here and now] the things eternal”. In the Latin original there is no word corresponding to “finally” in the English version at this point: the prayer is simply that we may so pass through the good things of this life that we lose not the things eternal.

“The good things of civilization can become as so many reefs, against which we shipwreck our very lives, if we have not God as our pilot. Unless life is once more God-centred, the technical improvements that we see around us, the scientific advance that goes on almost daily with the march of time, will be the undoing of civilization as we have known it. . . .

You cannot always achieve this type of opening. I happen to have done it with the Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity; but someone else will be able to think of a still more vivid introduction for a sermon on the Collect for some other Sunday. And, if you cannot always begin with a striking illustration, there are other ways in which you can from time to time vary your technique.

For example, I had occasion not long ago to preach on the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity. I chose the Collect:

O God, who declarest thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity; Mercifully grant unto us such a measure of thy grace, that we, running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises, and be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure . . .

Here is how I began:

The Collect for to-day sums up in one sentence the whole course of the Christian life.

The Christian life begins with God. It is the result of God’s working in us. It is not something that we achieve by our own effort. It is true that we do have a part to play, but our part lies in yielding ourselves to the impact of God’s power, to the influence of his grace, and to the outreach of his mercy and love.

So in to-day’s Collect we call upon God, who declares his almighty power “chiefly in showing mercy and pity”, that he may grant us his grace—“such a measure of his grace”—“that we, running the way of his commandments, may obtain his gracious promises, and be made partakers of his heavenly treasure.”

The word "grace" is one of the great words of the Bible and one of the key words of Christian living

A number of the Collects suggest themes of practical importance in preaching the Gospel to men and women of every age and generation. Thus, for example, the Collect for the First Sunday after the Epiphany, with its petition that God's people "may both perceive and know what things they ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same", offers possibilities of attacking the perennial heresy of the all-sufficiency of education—the notion that if only people are "enlightened" and taught the principles of the good life (whatever that may be) all will be well with the world. But the Collect for Epiphany I is based upon the age-long belief of the Church that knowledge and education are not enough: people need not only to know what is right, but to have grace and power to perform the right; and grace and power are the gift of God through Jesus Christ.

Likewise the Collect for the Second Sunday in Lent, in which we pray God to "keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls", could be the basis for a sermon on the relation between soul and body in the Christian life—a sermon incorporating, perhaps, an exposition of the sacramental principle.

I have on occasion used the Collect for Easter II as the point of departure for a sermon on the Eucharistic Sacrifice. According to this Collect, our Lord is not only a "sacrifice for sin", but also an "ensample [example] of godly life". In this connection I explain that there are two kinds of examples: there is the kind of "example" that a teacher writes on the blackboard and that the class is bidden to copy—as at a distance; but there is also the kind that is more accurately described as a "pattern"; and this—as in a pattern for making a dress—has to be brought into contact with the material, if the material is to be shaped accordingly.

Our Lord, I point out, is more like this second type of example. He is not merely a teacher of a bygone age, whom we try to copy, as at a distance. He is the ever-present living Lord, who in the sacraments of his Church, and especially in the Holy Eucharist, actually comes into contact with us, to mould us after his likeness: to be for us, in this sense, "an ensample of godly life".⁶

So may one go through the entire collection of Collects in the Book of Common Prayer. That for Rogation Sunday ("that . . . we may think those things that be good, and . . . may perform the

same") suggests a sermon on meditation, which is after all very largely a deliberate effort for a few moments to "think those things that be good". Trinity VI sums up in a nutshell—and in matchless English—the Christian teaching on the hereafter, and invites a sermon on that topic; while Trinity VII (" . . . Graft in our hearts the love of thy Name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same . . ."), by its descending triad, "love of God," "religion," "goodness" (i.e., morality), offers opportunity to point out the relation between morality and religion, and to define religion as "love of God", with an appeal for Christian perseverance in this love and in that moral conduct which is to follow from it ("of thy great mercy keep us in the same"). Finally, to take a bold leap to the end of the Christian year, the Collect for the Sunday Next Before Advent ("Stir up" Sunday) is an obvious point of departure for a sermon on pre-Advent stock-taking of our lives, just before we enter upon another annual round of feast and fast.

In the Collects alone, the Prayer Book is rich in material lending itself to devotional and practical exposition. Apart from Holy Scripture there is no such solid food of spiritual nourishment. Indeed, by their own intrinsic merit, the Collects have earned the place that they occupy typographically, next to the Scripturelections.

¹ Edited by W. K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris, pp. 374-409.

² For this appraisal by Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., see *The Worship of the Church*, Seabury Press, 1952, p. 227.

³ Edward Meyrick Goulburn, 2 volumes (New York: Pott, Young, and Co., 1880).

⁴ Edited by George Harford and Morley Stevenson (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912).

⁵ The examples given in this article of sermon leads are all the writer's own. Thus he is not comparing his work with that of someone else.

⁶ This particular Collect is one of those composed for the 1549 Book, inspired by the Epistle for the day (see Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., *The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary*, p. 171). "Ensample [example]", therefore, in the Collect presumably rests upon "example" in the Epistle ("Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example", 1 Pet. 2. 21), where in the Greek the word is *hypogrammos*, which apparently does mean the kind of example that a teacher writes for a pupil to copy—as at a distance, more or less. But since the Graeco-Roman teacher was wont to write this on the pupil's wax slate, and sometimes actually guided the pupil's hand in tracing it (see William Barclay, *A New Testament Word Book*, p. 55), the same essential idea, involving the ever-living Christ's action upon us, can be brought out even in preaching directly from the Epistle. I think it is legitimate, however, in preaching from the Collect, to do as I have done.

REVIEWS

A GREAT PRELATE

ARTHUR CAYLEY HEADLAM. By RONALD JASPER. Faith Press. 35s.

THE *Church Quarterly Review* is perhaps more indebted to Bishop Headlam than to any other single individual. His association with it began in 1886, shortly after his election to a fellowship at All Souls, when the then editor, C. Knight Watson, a conservative Tractarian layman, invited him to review for it. Unfortunately a rift developed in 1890, owing to Watson's hostility to *Lux Mundi*, and Headlam severed his connection with the journal. By the time of Watson's death in 1901, C.Q.R. had declined in quality and in circulation, and there were those like Gore and Halifax whose first instinct was to let it die and to concentrate on the *Journal of Theological Studies* which had been founded in 1899 with Cuthbert Turner as editor. But in June 1901 Messrs Spottiswoode and Co. offered the editorship of C.Q.R. to Headlam, who was then Rector of Welwyn; and, with the encouragement of Henson, Gore, and Halifax, he decided to accept. He recruited new contributors, mostly among his friends and fellow scholars, and widened the journal's range of interests; and within a short time C.Q.R. "had recovered its position as the representative of the intellectual and literary side of English Church life".

But its financial position remained precarious, and the proprietors were glad to sell the journal to Headlam when he offered to buy it in 1907. ("He raised the money by creating a company among his friends.") He introduced signed articles, and halved the price in order to encourage new subscribers: this was a bold venture, but it proved to be amply justified. Headlam was the Principal and Dean of King's College, London: in 1918 he became Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. There is a limit to the work that any one man can carry on his shoulders, and in 1921 he relinquished the editorship to "the Members of the Faculty of Theology, King's College, London", which meant in practice W. R. Mathews, R. P. Hanson, and Claude Jenkins.

By 1926, C.Q.R. was once more facing a financial crisis: the circulation was not large, and liabilities were mounting. The company was therefore wound up, and Headlam (who had been made Bishop of Gloucester in 1923) became sole proprietor with personal responsibility for the debts. He transferred the whole undertaking to Gloucester: the printing was entrusted to a local firm, and the editorship to Canon Maynard Smith. (In 1930 Maynard Smith was succeeded by Philip Usher, who remained editor until his untimely death in 1941.) Claude Jenkins estimated that over the years Headlam must have lost well over £1,000 in keeping C.Q.R. going, and this would seem to be an underestimate: but Headlam was satisfied that it was money well spent. On

his retirement in 1945, he finally disposed of the journal for a nominal sum to the proprietors of the *Guardian*, though he continued to write articles for it until his death in 1947. When the *Guardian* ceased publication, C.Q.R. was taken over by S.P.C.K.

If Headlam had done nothing else but keep the *Church Quarterly Review* alive from 1901 to 1945, he would deserve to be remembered with gratitude for having rendered an important service to the Church of England. For C.Q.R., which had been founded in 1875, was, as Maynard Smith described it in words which have not lost their truth, "the origin of a sober but very definite Anglicanism—intended for educated people who were not necessarily specialists. It aimed at being for Churchmen what *The Quarterly Review* was for the world at large: and it preserved that width of culture which was once the glory of the Church of England." That a journal discharging such a valuable and indeed essential function should not have been more widely supported by the public to whom it was addressed, and that it should in fact have been preserved from extinction only by the private generosity and determination of a single individual who was willing to spend his money in that way, may be regarded as something of a reproach to the Church whose interests it served.

It is appropriate that these facts should be recited here, though Dr Headlam's association with this journal is naturally only a side-issue in Mr Jasper's superlatively accurate and comprehensive study of his life and work. It is too early to attempt to assess Headlam's place in the history of the Church of England, and his influence on the ecumenical movements towards Christian unity: he himself was frequently heard to remark, "People may say what they like about me now but in fifty years time they will see that I was right"; and those fifty years have not yet passed. But much of the material for that assessment is presented objectively and very impressively in this book, which is by far the most substantial and the most important ecclesiastical biography published during the past years, and which contains a valuable bibliography of Headlam's published works (including all his articles in C.Q.R.) and a good index.

Headlam was always a somewhat Olympian figure. "His ordered life, vitality and powers of concentration enabled him to get through an enormous amount of work." He had remarkable administrative gifts: but scholarship was his life, ecumenicity his consuming interest, and gardening his only relaxation. He did not desire the limelight, and did not attract it: although in his day he was a great ecclesiastical personality both at home and abroad, yet he was probably respected and loved more by foreign Churchman than by those in his own country, where to the general public he was hardly even a name.

Hensley Henson, a year senior to him at All Souls, and his friend through life, remembered Headlam as an undergraduate: "a big raw-boned North countryman, very fair but not handsome to look at and very angular." The angularity persisted: when he was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and a Gown of Christ Church, at the very time

that he was emerging as a dominating figure in the ecumenical movement it was notorious to all the gossips that his relations with the Governing Body of the College were not cordial. Headlam was always a man with a mind of his own, and did not hesitate to speak it: he never courted popularity. It was therefore fortunate for the Church of England that Archbishop Davidson had the insight and the courage to recognize that this formidable individual, "a fascinating blend of dignity, ferocity, and humour" (as Sir Michael Sadler once described him), was a leader whose scholarship and driving power were needed on the episcopal bench. In point of fact, he made a surprisingly good pastoral bishop; as Archbishop Lang observed, "I never knew a man in whom the grace of consecration made a more marked difference"; and, by and large, the diocese of Gloucester came to regard him, as the diocese of Durham regarded Henson, with a pride tinged with personal affection.

For, as the Dean of St Paul's brings out in his brilliant, judicious, and illuminating foreword to this official biography, beneath the hard exterior (of which Headlam himself was not unaware) there had always been a nature that was essentially kind and gentle and affectionate, and wholly free from malice. Henson used to compare him to a Brazil nut, repulsively hard in the shell, and admirable in the kernel. Mr Jasper's *Arthur Cayley Headlam* is a great biography, because—in addition to assembling a wealth of information, not easily to be had elsewhere, regarding the ecumenical relations of the Church of England, in which Headlam played a leading rôle—it faithfully presents both shell and kernel, and even penetrates to Headlam's personal religion, about which, because it meant so much to him, he was more than ordinarily reserved.

CHARLES SMYTH

MAN'S LABOUR

WORK. An Enquiry into Christian Thought and Practice. Edited by JOHN M. TODD. Darton, Longman and Todd. 30s., paper, 21s.

THIS VOLUME contains the eighteen papers read at a symposium held at Downside. To certain of the papers the editor has added brief notes of the discussion which followed. The whole is set against a background of orthodox Roman Catholic theology, though not of a type which in any way deprives the book of its interest and value for Anglican readers. The points of disagreement, familiar enough, are not here significant, and the final article, by Father Herbert McCabe, links the preceding papers effectively and instructively with current Thomist theology in its least controversial form.

The three symposia that have appeared have as their explicit purpose the study of "the problems involved in communicating Christian doctrine to the men and women of our century". They have dealt with three widely different subjects, all of immediate current interest. This

third volume is devoted to Work, a subject which concerns us all and yet which for most people raises only practical and quite superficial questions. It is obvious enough that work, as it comes along, must be accepted, gladly or unwillingly, as a necessity of social life, but there are few who stop to think of any possible theological implications.

It is the purpose of this collection of papers to set out as clearly as possible the nature of work and its relation to our essential humanity, and therewith to show its proper theological status. With this in view they fall into three groups, one historical and introductory, one, divided into two sections, with accounts of various sorts of working life and a more general survey of the organization of work to-day, and one, a short final group, leading up to the theological setting of the whole. As might obviously be expected the wide range of writers produces a series of papers very diverse in type, some really weighty in scholarship, some significant as personal testimonies, and all contributing to the total impression made by the book. Scholarship predominates in the first three essays. The first of these deals comprehensively with conceptions of work in ancient Greece and Rome, with their insistence on the need for man to come to choose the best life and their relegation of the craftsman, though wholly necessary, to a second-best status. The second paper shows the strong modification of this in primitive Christianity, with, in particular, St Augustine's very characteristic development of ideas derived in part from St Ambrose. The importance of the early Christian tradition lies especially in the conception, based on Genesis, of the pains of labour as a direct consequence of the Fall. This largely obscured the truth that labour, for indeed Adam was a gardener before he fell, is itself part of the true dignity of man, made in the Divine Image of God, the Creator. Yet Creation ended in the Sabbath rest of God, and for St Augustine work itself, though good, leads out into rest.

The main central part of the book needs little comment. The testimonies are as wide as the factory and the agricultural worker, the advertising agent (a surprise, this), and the housewife, whose simple and immediate family difficulties, told almost without comment, make a very direct impression. The wider problems of management and organization are dealt with broadly and with the authority of experience by such writers as George Woodcock of the Trades Union Congress, and, most impressively, by Ronald Brech, in charge of the Economics and Statistics Department of Unilever Ltd. As comments upon the world of labour to-day these two essays alone make the book one of the greatest value, since they provide a fully informed and solid basis both for criticism and for constructive thought.

The last section of the book, headed "Towards a Theology of Work", seems to attempt too much in brief compass, and in the end, in Father McCabe's Thomist synthesis, to move out into a simpler theological pattern than the earlier papers suggest. This final essay is preceded by two others of considerable importance and some philosophical difficulty. The first, entitled "Scientific Work", by Laurence Bright, O.P., deals with "pure science", as a truly personal and, ultimately, a

Christian activity. Pure science is thus "a speculative activity which gives us true knowledge of the natural work", and this definition links the discussion with the much more formal and difficult paper which follows on the Work of Intellect. The effect of the argument in these two papers is to raise the concept of work to a level which gives it a natural place among theological concepts. It is at this point that definitions of work develop and become important. Dom Sebastian Moore can define it innocently enough as "patient action bearing fruit", though the formal development which follows moves into deep waters, and Father McCabe as the introduction or preservation of order in Nature. As such it is not a consequence of man's sin, the Fall of the Genesis narrative, though sin in many ways affects its character, but is a true element of the Image of God in man, linked as social with the social Sacraments of the Church, and with them truly a mode and an expression of the Christian life.

L. W. GRENSTED

CONSCIENCE

SOCRATES AND THE HUMAN CONSCIENCE. By MICHELINE and MARIE SAUVAGE. Translated by PATRICK HEPBURN-SCOTT. New York: Harper and Brothers; London: Longmans. 6s.

THIS IS in several ways an arresting book, not least in its low price, for it contains 93 illustrations as well as three dissertations on Socrates. There are also appended relevant extracts from a great range of authors, from Aristotle, Plato and Xenophon to F. M. Cornford and Paul Valéry. The translation reads well, but the title raises a query. On the cover the book is called *Socrates and the Conscience of Men*, on the title page *Socrates and the Human Conscience*. The variation may be simply due to inadvertence, but in any case the meaning of *conscience* is in question. If the word is used in the ordinary sense, as when we speak of "a guilty conscience" or "a conscientious voter", it is odd that there is no sign whatever that Plato's *Gorgias* has been in the author's mind, a dialogue which is really just a plea for a good conscience. What else conscience can mean can only become clear when the book has been read, and even then it is not very clear. The note that runs all through the book is the Delphic "Know Thyself", which Socrates is represented as having made the motto of his life. So perhaps the word conscience may mean the consciousness of the duties involved in knowing yourself and the determination to perform them. This, the book asserts, is what distinguishes Socrates from the philosophers who went before him and most of those who have come after.

That this conscience is also the Christian conscience is suggested, and although the source of it in Christianity is obviously not Socrates, it would not have assumed the form it takes in the Christian religion except in a Greek world which had learned its mental and moral attitudes from Socrates. Socrates is a kind of Hellenic John Baptist—

this is what the book seems to be saying, though it is careful to emphasize many times that Socrates taught nothing; he only by his personality and his perpetual questions put people in a position to find things out for themselves and principally to know themselves.

There is a great deal more in this short book, some commonsense, some paradoxes, a few—but not many—obscurities. It is well worth reading, and the pictures (though some of them are not very well reproduced) are full of variety and interest. It might be a good book for a beginner in these studies, certainly it would be an excellent companion on the way, and it has something definite to say to those who already consider themselves Platonists. But it is to be observed that there is surprisingly little about Plato in it; this is because it is all about Socrates, and that is one of its great virtues.

I will just add two remarks: first, that I have a feeling that the word *vocation* at the beginning of the last paragraph on page 162 may be a misleading translation, though I confess I have not seen the original; secondly, that I much admire Professor Armstrong's translation of the extracts from Plutarch, Apuleius, and Clement of Alexandria.

ADAM FOX

PRINCETON PLATONIST

PAUL ELMER MORE. By ARTHUR HAZARD DAKIN. Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 6os.

THE SUBJECT of this biography is best known to English readers as co-editor with Dr F. L. Cross of *Anglicanism*, to which he contributed the introductory essay on "The Spirit of Anglicanism". The present work traces the spiritual and intellectual development of this intriguing polymath from his rejection of the narrow Calvinism of his boyhood to his acceptance of a liberal catholicism which brought him almost (but not quite) within the fold of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

More was a classical humanist of a type that is rapidly becoming extinct. He had neither the exactness of a great scholar, nor the creative gift of a great writer. But his immensely wide reading (what other man of letters in this century has delighted to spend morning after morning shut up in his study with the works of Plato or St John Chrysostom?) and warm human sympathies gave him a breadth of scope and a profundity of insight which make one think of our own Archbishop Temple. (Oddly enough, though he met him once towards the end of his life, Temple was one of the few contemporary authors whose works More does not appear to have read.) Intensely aware of the unseen world, and convinced of the Platonic dualism which contrasted τὰ φαινόμενα with τὰ ὄντα, More was intolerant of reason's attempt to apply its categories in the realm of spirit. He rejected the God of the philosophers as an unreal abstraction. "Reason demands an abstract Absolute. . . . But this Absolute has no relation whatever to

the God of faith" (p. 345n.) Consequently his theology was anthropomorphic to the point of heresy. He clung to the Chalcedonian Definition as a formula which precluded any rationalizing attempt to resolve the dualism of faith. But he could never accept the personality of the Holy Spirit.

Like many others whose only adventures were those of the mind, More led a private life of blameless uneventfulness. Thus the domestic and personal details with which Mr Dakin seeks to enliven his narrative merely impede the flow of ideas without contributing significantly to the character-drawing. It is impossible to withhold admiration for the prodigious industry attested by innumerable footnotes and an exhaustive Index, 28 pages long; or astonishment at the price of the book, which is high even by American standards.

ROBIN ANSTEY

CHRISTIAN POLITICS

CHRISTIANS AND THE STATE. By JOHN C. BENNETT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4.50.

THIS INTERESTING book is a study of the theological principles which determine the relations of the Christian to the State, and of the State towards religion, going with special care into the problems which present themselves in the United States; a task for which the author is well qualified by his long connection with the department of Ethics and Economics of the National Council of Churches. This survey includes such areas of interest as the prohibition experiment of the twenties, the period of the "New Deal", the phenomenon of McCarthyism, the attitude of the protestant Churches towards Roman Catholicism, the demand for "integration" in the South, and other studies which will be of interest to readers in other countries. But it proceeds from a general analysis of the whole situation in the light of Christian doctrines, which is most illuminating. The American Constitution is founded upon a recognition of religion and morality which is explicitly referred to in its fundamental documents, and guides it to some extent in its judicial procedure for instance, and in its educational policy. Their fundamental conception of democracy cannot be separated from this recognition of religion.

The book is a theological book, however, and it starts by examining fundamental Christian doctrines, surveying a large field. Its treatment of the Bible itself is necessarily brief, but it passes on into the story of the Christian Church, in which it covers a wide range. It takes Luther and Calvin seriously, as the founders of the great protestant schools; it draws on men like Barth and Brunner and Bonhoeffer and the Niebuhrs; but it also draws upon Roman Catholic writers, whom it treats with respect. It relates its discussions of these more recent writings to the acute problems of Church and State in European countries during the last half-century. It extends its view to take in the

whole range of ecumenical experience and thought. It relates its study of American conditions to this survey and carries it through in the light of the doctrinal generalizations which emerge.

The author writes with great sympathy and moderation about Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, and other Churches of the catholic type; but his own theology of the Church, as he warns his readers (see p. 199), will not seem quite adequate to catholic minds. Perhaps even before John Knox and Oliver Cromwell sanctified the cause of revolution (see pp. 32 and 148), some elements of democracy were to be found in the primitive Church order, in which the "people" elected their own bishops and received the same sacraments side by side, maybe from the hands of a slave. Perhaps one function of the Church, in reference to the State, might be to pray for the government; ethics and theology (see p. 271) are magnificent things, but St Paul advises prayer. Perhaps those Churches in Communist countries which are restricted almost entirely to the ministry of the sanctuary (see p. 212) have in their hands one of the most potent of all Christian influences.

✠ PHILIP CARRINGTON

THE FOUNDATIONS OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. By JAMES PARKES. Valentine Mitchell. 42s.

THE APPEARANCE of the name of Dr Parkes on the title page of a book is a guarantee that it has been written with profound understanding of the Jewish mentality, matched by genuine Christian conviction, and on a basis of wide-ranging scholarship. In the present work he discusses the development of the common foundation from which both Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism have stemmed.

Deploping as he rightly does the attitude of hostility which has too long prevailed between the two traditions, he seeks to effect a reconciliation by arguing that, far from being mutually incompatible, both points of view are essential to the realization of a complete religious and social theory. His thesis, briefly stated, is that, whereas Judaism stresses the social nature of man, being based on his "natural but inevitable relationships in the family, the village, the city and the state", Christianity stresses rather the value of the human individual as such. All this, it need hardly be said, is argued with a wealth of historical, biblical, and rabbinic learning, and undoubtedly any reader will learn much about the ideas which are the inspiration of these two great traditions.

At the same time, whilst fully accepting Dr Parkes' position that there is no need of or excuse for the antisemitic attitude of too many Christians, whilst agreeing wholeheartedly that there is much which each side can learn from the other, we must confess that the thesis seems to be based on somewhat selective evidence. There can surely be little doubt that the social nature of Christianity is not less important than its individualism, and not all the scholarship in the world can do

away with the fact that at the heart of the Christian Faith is a belief in the absolute universality of Christ's redemptive work.

It is undoubtedly true that most Christians have an utterly inadequate appreciation of the full scope of their calling; it is true that we all need the stimulus provided by such books as this to help us to broaden our outlook and our sympathies. It may indeed be the case that until the end of time the Jewish tradition will endure to emphasize an aspect of truth which might otherwise be lost sight of, but this can hardly justify the suggestion that both traditions are of equal significance or of comparable merit.

None of this should be understood as implying that the book should not have been written or is not worth reading. On the contrary it has a very important message for both Jews and Christians, even if it is not precisely the message which the author expounds.

T. CORBISHLEY, S.J.

BARTH AGAIN

CHURCH DOGMATICS. Vol. III The Doctrine of Creation. Pt. 2. By KARL BARTH. T. and T. Clark. 55s.

THE PATIENT reader of *Church Dogmatics* will find his thought concentrated on great issues, and will be compelled, and helped, to think out afresh his own convictions on the truths of the Christian Faith. This may well result in new vividness in the presentation of the Gospel. Barth is prolix; hovers, perhaps, longer than is necessary on a few great insights; but there is gain in this age of hurry in being induced to tarry long in the presence of great ideas.

Barth's standpoint is always biblical, and the stress is always on revealed truth. In this volume philosophy is not neglected, and there is penetrating treatment of philosophic discussions of the nature of man and of time. Whether these are in such a form as to make a real appeal to the humanist, and to impress him, I do not know: the approach might seem too unfamiliar. But the humanist ought to take Barth seriously.

When *Church Dogmatics* is completed, our author will have given us what is, in effect, a theological commentary on the major part of the whole bible; a commentary which the excellent index of Scripture references makes easy to use. Many a commentary tends to be scanty in treating theological issues—so much else demands attention. The preacher will do well to consult Barth on any text he has chosen. The biblical scholar may doubt whether enough heed is taken of the findings of criticism: for instance 2 Peter is quoted as if the Petrine authorship was unquestioned. But then, what is said sometimes matters more than who wrote it.

The religious intensity of *Church Dogmatics* is notable. To read these volumes is an exercise in devotion. One is brought all the time into the sphere of the divine encounter. To be preoccupied with God

is always a pressing need, and an indispensable equipment for witness.

The dominating theme of this book is that we can discover what real man is only through the revelation of manhood in Jesus Christ. Humanity is not something static: it is a relationship. Man is really human only in virtue of his relationship with God and man. As Barth puts it, Jesus was wholly for God, and wholly for man. If men are studied apart from the revelation of Jesus Christ, we learn the phenomena of humanity, but never reach the reality. If man is an alien from God, and disregards his neighbour, he is on the road to nothingness.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this book is the section dealing with Time; and many think that the nature of Time is the most pressing problem of philosophy to-day. Certainly we want to know how man in his successiveness is related to God in his eternity. Part of the answer is that by the Incarnation God has entered into time, and given reality to time and history.

An emphatic word of praise must be given to the translators, for the work reads as if it were an English original.

C. J. BARKER

BELIEF AND MYSTERY

OUR EXPERIENCE OF GOD. By H. D. LEWIS. Allen and Unwin. 30s.

PROFESSOR LEWIS has given us in this book a study of religious experience which demands and deserves careful reading. As the title implies, he has approached the subject from the standpoint of Theism and he is in fact mainly concerned with Christian experience. Even with this limitation the scope of his inquiry is large enough and he tells us that he had intended to include some account of the arguments for Theism, but omitted it because it would have made the book too long. I think this is a pity, for as it stands we are left uncertain on the important question of the basis for the validity of the experience.

He begins with an experience of "absolute dependence". In this respect, he resembles Schleiermacher and we perhaps expect him to develop his thought on similar lines. He does not; on closer inspection it appears that there is radical difference in his starting point. Whereas Schleiermacher's experience of absolute dependence is represented as an unanalysable "feeling", Professor Lewis regards his experience as an "intuition", that is, one must suppose, as an intellectual insight. It follows from this that, whereas Schleiermacher held that the God-consciousness was the primary ground for belief in God, Professor Lewis does not make any such claim for it. Thus the "intuition" is open to rational analysis and criticism. It will be remembered that Schleiermacher was at some pains to distinguish between God-consciousness and Cosmic-consciousness, and it would have been interesting to have had Professor Lewis's view on whether there is such

a thing as Cosmic consciousness and, if so, how it differs from the intuition of God. We may hope that we shall have later his discussion of the basis of Theism and perhaps he will then deal with such questions.

These remarks are not intended to suggest that the book as it stands is not of great value. The author is not only well acquainted with the philosophical literature and current epistemological discussions; he has first-hand knowledge of religion and writes as one who has grappled intellectually and emotionally with the problems. To him the Being of God is far more than a topic in metaphysics.

An adequate review of a work which covers so much ground would take each chapter and comment on it. Here we can only note some salient points and hope that the reader will be enticed to ponder all the chapters for himself. To me the chapter on Belief and Mystery seems of central importance, for in it Professor Lewis considers the nature of religious experience and touches on its logical relation to belief in God. "The Beyond that is within" is a phrase of Boutroux's which formerly carried meaning to many but has now almost been forgotten. I welcome its reappearance in Professor Lewis's perceptive dictum: "It is of extreme importance, for the proper commendation of religion today as well as for the enrichment that comes from right understanding of it, that it be made clear that the 'beyond' which we seek must also be found somehow within."

Other noteworthy chapters are those in which the author deals at length with "images" and symbols, making critical and discriminating observations on certain theological writers and on the psychology of Jung, and those which examine Prayer, the Preternatural, and Miracle.

This is one of those rare books that we read and feel at the end it has more to say than we have yet apprehended. We lay it down with the intention of returning to it again.

W. R. MATTHEWS

INDIVIDUAL REFORM

THE IDEA OF REFORM. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers. By G. B. LADNER. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 100s.

WITH AMERICAN efficiency and Germanic exhaustiveness Professor Ladner conducts the reader in a five-hundred page journey through his subject. He leaves no possible aspect of it untouched, but his main course runs through the Greek fathers' tendency to see reform as a return to an original Paradisal state, a recovery of man's original *ὁμοίωσις* to God and a final deification of man, through the Latin fathers' rather different conception of a reformation of man to something better and their predilection for seeing reform expressed in life in this world, with Augustine's thought as the climax of this process,

and his *Civitas Dei* as the climax of the climax. Dr Ladner then continues to pursue his subject through early Christian liturgy, canon law, and sacramental theology, through the rise and progress of monasticism and finally through a consideration of the influence of Augustine's thought on monasticism in early medieval Europe. The reader must be amazed, and moved to admiration, and finally experience a sense of exhaustion at the width and variety of Dr Ladner's reading and scholarship. As his theme makes its majestic way in the text, multitudinous footnotes referring to thousands of books and articles follow as a baggage-train follows an advancing army. There is nothing even remotely relating to his subject which Dr Ladner has not touched and almost nothing that he has touched which he does not appear to have examined thoroughly.

We say "almost nothing", because on one not unimportant point the author is deficient. He does not seem to be well versed in recent New Testament scholarship, or at least in the works of New Testament scholars who are not of Dr Ladner's own tradition (the Roman Catholic). He does not seem to realize that it cannot be assumed without qualification that St Paul speaks about "the soul" as most of the fathers did (pp. 42 and 55). His discussion (pp. 49-62) of St Paul's doctrine of reform is vitiated by his failure to realize its eschatological context, and from this he rushes directly to a necessarily inadequate discussion of justification, in the terms of the sixteenth century, conducted mainly in footnotes. His account (pp. 107-9) of the meaning of βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ in the New Testament is so inadequate that he would have been better advised to omit it. He assumes without question the Pauline authorship of the Pastorals, and he is not aware of the extreme difficulty of taking the ἐντὸς ὑμῶν of Luke 17. 21 in a purely spiritual manner (p. 243 n25 and elsewhere). So enormous a canvas must inevitably reveal some inadequacies in the artist, but this weakness is a particularly unfortunate one.

Reform in the fathers does not mean reform of the Church, but only of the individual or of society. There are no foreshadowings of the Reformation of the sixteenth century here. Dr Ladner is of course well aware of this. In a work full of interesting discussions, his treatment of the question why St Augustine chose *Civitas Dei* and not *Ecclesia* nor *Corpus Christi* as his subject is particularly illuminating (pp. 274-7). Readers of early Irish Church history will find his suggestions about the origin of the peculiarly monastic structure of early Celtic Christianity very useful (pp. 396-8). But nobody can fail to be instructed, enlightened, and indeed over-awed by a work of such noble and grand proportions.

R. P. C. HANSON

ARCHAEOLOGY

LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT PAST. By JACK FINEGAN. Princeton University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 63s.

NO ONE can read the Bible to-day without some contact with and even dependence upon archaeology. Whether it is a question of straightforward history, the Genesis creation stories, the life and organization of the early Church, or indeed, anything else, the results of the archaeologists are indispensable for true understanding. More than this, at the popular level archaeology is perhaps in some danger of becoming a magic word which gives a new authority to all the texts it touches. It proves the Bible true we are told, and each time Hollywood sends to us one of its "biblical" epics great trouble is taken to verify its authenticity to us by a record of an impressive amount of archaeological research.

It is against this background that we see the value of such books as *Light from the Ancient Past* where the archaeological background to the Bible and the early Church is set out. Mr Finegan starts with the evidence for the very earliest civilizations in Mesopotamia and Egypt and then works systematically through the centuries until he ends with descriptions of the earliest Christian churches. The work and findings of the archaeologists are described, their relevance for the Bible indicated, and the reader can see for himself its importance and significance. The book is thus indispensable to the student and should be of the greatest interest to the general reader who, with its aid, can come to his own conclusions based firmly on the best evidence available.

This is a second edition. The book was first published in 1946 and since then archaeological research and discovery has gone on apace. This edition brings the work up to date by taking notice of what has happened in the subject since 1946. Most noticeable is a long section on the Dead Sea Scrolls. On the other hand there is no reference to the manuscripts discovered at Nag Hammadi, one of which was the Gospel of Thomas.

J. ROBINSON

BIBLE STUDY

PRINCIPLES OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION. By JOHN T. WILKINSON. Epworth Press. 6s.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROMISE. By S. B. FROST. S.P.C.K. 5s. 6d.
MR WILKINSON in delivering the 1960 Peake Memorial Lecture, chose for his subject the Principles of Biblical Interpretation. His concern was to help those people who are trying to read the Bible and finding it very foreign and hard going. He reviews the various methods which have been used to interpret the Bible down the centuries and comes to the conclusion that the historical principle which indicates God's gradual

and progressive self-revelation in the scriptures is the true one. He has little sympathy for the work of such recent interpreters as Thornton or Farrer but for himself never seems to have faced the problem raised by Form Criticism of the true value of the biblical books as history. As a historical introduction to the subject Mr Wilkinson's book is useful but as a contribution to the contemporary presentation of the problem it is already dated..

Professor Frost's book is a series of lectures of popular exposition intended to help the ordinary reader to understand the book of Genesis better. His point of view is broadly that of Mr Wilkinson and from that standpoint he deals plainly and faithfully with the problems of Genesis. This is a book which can be recommended to the layman and should prove very valuable in the parochial study group.

J. ROBINSON

THE GOSPEL AND THE JEWISH LECTIONARY

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND JEWISH WORSHIP. By AILEEN GUILDING.
Oxford University Press. 30s.

IN THIS BOOK the author follows up a tantalizing article which she contributed to the *J.T.S.* in April 1952. She has now produced a full-scale survey of the pattern of the fourth gospel against the triennial cycle of lections and psalms used in Palestine in the first century. In this she does a great deal more than the title promises, and in Part I she establishes the probability that the Pentateuch as we have it follows a calendrical arrangement of synagogue readings. The pattern of the fourth gospel is then examined in great detail against the background of Jewish festivals, lections (*sedarim* from the Law, with related *haphtaroth* from the prophets), and recitations from the psalms. The conclusion is that "the Gospel might fairly be described as a Christian commentary on the lections of the triennial cycle" (p. 231).

One of the most refreshing conclusions of a most impressive piece of scholarship is that the liturgical pattern, so far from taking us further from history, makes closer contact with the figure of a Christ who himself in his teaching and life was involved in the liturgical pattern of his people. Chronological difficulties are resolved, as when the first four chapters of the gospel are seen as a preview of the ministry, passion, and resurrection (chapters 1 and 2); and of the work of the post-resurrection Church (chapters 3 and 4—especially, 3. 11 and 13 on the ascension, 4. 38 on the apostolic work and witness, with a hint of a *Maranatha* in the story of the officer's son, 4. 66ff).

The meticulously careful attention to detail makes tiring reading, but is necessary: most of us know how fatally easy it is to see connections and correspondences; and there are places where readers will feel that the author has exaggerated the careful planning of the fourth evangelist—one doubts whether he worked, like the later Alexandrines,

surrounded by codices, lectionaries, and scrolls. But she has surely established her case. Men who are soaked in a particular pattern of liturgical sequence follow that sequence unconsciously. How often the vicar's choice of hymn fits the visiting preacher's sermon "like magic"!

A few details: here and there one finds traces of an inverted typology; the eternal pattern revealed in Jesus Christ was foreshadowed in the Old Testament, but God is not bound by any foreshadowing. "What the prophet does, God does" (p. 131) is an inversion and is the mistake of the magic-makers: "Yahweh will repeat the symbolic action" is the cry of the rain-makers; prophecy is a glimpse, outside time, of God's eternal activity. It is again an inverted typology to suggest that New Testament writers added details from Old Testament prophets and psalms *without other evidence*. This has been suggested elsewhere of St Luke's and St Matthew's early chapters, and there is just a hint of it in this book: on p. 83, that St John made the years of the cripple's disease agree with the years of the desert wanderings, on p. 100 that synagogue use "has in part determined the theology of the ascension", on p. 165 that the Hebrew "Malko" (king) in Zechariah was responsible for the name given by St John to the high-priest's servant. It is another thing to say that the evangelists noted coincidences and regarded them as significant: the details of the Passion did not come from Psalm 22, or the unbroken legs of the crucified Christ from Exodus and Numbers; but the Old Testament types can expound their meanings.

One would like to discuss this fascinating thesis at much greater length. It is revolutionary, and yet reconciles many anomalies. There is no scissors and paste about it, no unnecessary complication. It is not open to some of the criticisms made of Archbishop Carrington's *The Primitive Christian Calendar*. Liberals who have grown conservative in their liberalism may find it difficult to readjust themselves to its approach, but not those who are liberal enough to break free from presuppositions.

H. A. BLAIR

ROMANISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA. By W. E. BROWN. Edited by MICHAEL DERRICK. Burns and Oates. 35s.

TOO LITTLE is known of the work of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa. Now for the first time the story has been told of the main developments in South Africa, South West Africa, and the British Protectorates between 1887 and 1922. Much of this book is taken up with the work of certain outstanding bishops during this period, together with the relation of Church and State in the field of education. But in the course of this a great deal of light is thrown upon the varying fortunes of the Church during the period. This is done frankly

and objectively with no attempt to turn past events into a "success" story. On the contrary, the author has succeeded in giving a picture of church life which cannot fail to evoke the admiration of the reader for this great venture of faith.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that entitled "The Church and the African" in which the author recalls that as far back as seventy years ago, Bishop Richards pointed out in *The Catholic Church and the Kaffir* that the Africans would benefit by the abolition of the powers of the chief and the consequent destruction of the native social conditions and Law. He saw their acceptance of British Law and administration as the best security for their economic advance. Much that has taken place in recent years in South Africa might have been avoided if those responsible for government had shared the far-seeing conclusions of the Bishop.

It is fortunate that Mr Michael Derrick, in editing this work, has added both a prologue and an epilogue, for the main body of this book ends with the decree of 7 December 1922 with which Pope Pius XI created the Apostolic Delegation to Southern Africa. One only wishes that he had been able to expand his epilogue, for these last years have been critical in many ways. However his sections on Apartheid and on Principles of Race Relations repay careful study, for in a mere eight pages he sets out very clearly the attitude of Roman Catholic leaders to these vexed questions. His view is more forcibly expounded in section six of the epilogue, which is entitled "A Sin to humiliate one's Fellow Men". Concerned as it is with a statement issued at the end of the Bishops' Conference in July 1957, in which the bishops declare that apartheid has an "evil and anti-Christian character", it warns the faithful that "we are hypocrites if we condemn apartheid in South African society and condone it in our own institutions". This is a warning that members of all communions and denominations in South Africa would do well to heed. Too little is known both of the past activity and present witness of the Roman Church in South Africa. This book repairs the former omission. One hopes that the editor will one day be prevailed upon to extend his epilogue considerably. Meantime it would be valuable to have the epilogue reprinted as a separate pamphlet.

✠ A. M. REEVES

RACIALISM

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE. By KYLE HASELDON.
Lutterworth Press. 15s.

THE "blurb" quotes Reinhold Niebuhr as saying that the book is "wise, learned, charitable and courageous". This is a fair description. Mr Haseldon is a Baptist minister of the American South and editor-at-large of the *Christian Century*.

He frankly admits at the outset that the protestant churches of U.S.A. have been the "mother of racial patterns" and at best the "purveyor of arrant sedatives". A "good" negro has been not one that is moral but one that is biddable. The rôle that has been expected of the negro more than justifies the Marxist contention that "religion is the opium of the people", but the contention is likewise refuted when the very deep Christian faith of many negroes leads them to break these "coils of spiritual passivity which the white men substituted when the physical chains were breaking", and to insist upon their full humanity. The Christian religion has been used to keep cruelly exploited men biddable but the real power of Christianity is displayed as a dignifying and liberating influence in the lives of all men.

The second part of the book is a diagnosis. Beginning with a quite admirable discussion of the nature of prejudice it then deals with the evils of discrimination, segregation, and the making of stereotypes. This last is one of the most dangerous evils, for it prevents a man being himself and subtly forces him into the mould of what the stereotype makes him out to be.

These evils are seen to be the product of man's sinful self-will and one of the merits of the book is that it is not satisfied to stay at the level of a purely sociological analysis. "Prejudice . . . is rooted in the sinful will of every man to surmount, by their extinction if necessary, all other men and at last to assault in final challenge the sovereignty of God", and he quotes Camus—"each of us has the plague within him; no one, no one on earth is free from it".

It is true that the social system itself becomes the soil and climate in which racial prejudice can produce a horrid crop and it is a useful reminder to us (Notting Hill was a warning!) in Britain that "given a depression and large-scale unemployment the competition for available jobs may explode in patterns of racial strife".

In all matters of social discrimination "charity is not enough", there is need for a new consideration of the demands of justice.

White Christians, not only in U.S.A., have to face the changing status of the black people of the world with grace, not reluctantly abandoning positions which are no longer tenable nor angrily resisting change, for the black people are moving first and asserting what we have failed to give. As the privileged watch the victims of injustice rising to their full stature as men, taking their rights, going where they belong and being what they are, they feel "a sense of resentment which can be traced to a deep, perhaps unconscious sense of guilt".

The book ends by seeing the bonds of unity in religion, for men are "of one blood" and the gospel is to be preached "to all men" without distinction, and the household of faith cannot be divided by race.

How then to achieve a racially united Church? Here the author has some interesting things to say about the character of American protestantism in which *κοινωνία* plays a much larger part than *ἐκκλησία* and the very social and familial atmosphere can lead to a distortion of the Church so that it becomes a club of likeminded or congenial

neighbours, only too ready to exclude those who do not fit in. He admits that the Roman Catholic Church has been more successful in getting rid of racial distinction in the Church because it can be done by episcopal direction but such a method is not possible in the democratic congregations of American protestantism. So it happens that Councils and respected individuals may proclaim the end of racial churches but in fact nothing may happen. Some have wondered whether the alleged revival of religion is real unless it has as one result the changing of racial attitudes. But it may not be just coincidence that "the extremes of pietism and racial discrimination occupy the same territory".

One may be allowed to conclude by urging people in England to read this book. We may say that conditions here are different but are they so different now? We have a growing coloured population and our record has not always been good.

It has seemed to me a disaster that Ethics as a subject is now seriously neglected in our theological colleges and no longer a subject for G.O.E. This book should be on every theological student's book-list.

L. M. SCHIFF

CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

TOWARDS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS. By JOHN D. RAYNER. James Clarke. 4s. 6d.

THERE is beginning to be an extensive literature of Dialogue between Jews and Christians, and the present slim volume is no mean contribution to it, for Rayner has a clear mind and a clear style. The book is based on three lectures which he was invited to give to the clergy of the diocese of York. It is written from the standpoint of a liberal Judaism critical of the nationalism implicit in Zionism, and its particular value arises from this fixed basis from which he approaches the subject. He does not try to cover every issue and every variety of interpretation. The three lectures are on "Some Facts about Judaism", "Some Differences between Judaism and Christianity as seen by a Jew", and "Jewish-Christian Relations—Past, Present and Future". The detailed and sympathetic analysis of the second lecture is immensely worth a close study, especially the picture which he gives, from his Jewish point of view, of the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth. For the difference between regarding Jesus as a divine incarnation and as a very good man is of the essence of the dialogue and a Jewish point of view is here stated with complete frankness. Rayner is likewise very interesting in his discussion of the future. In fact so much of interest is rarely packed into 82 pages.

JAMES PARKES

THE OPEN BIBLE

NO GREATER HERITAGE. By CHARLES GULSTON. Paternoster Press. 15s.

IN THIS BOOK the author recounts the history of the Christian scriptures from their first arrival in this country under the Roman occupation, through the various attempts at translation into the English tongue, until the great struggle of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to provide the people of the land with the scriptures in their own language. There are many now who read the Bible to whom this story is largely unknown, and they will find in this book a straightforward and painstaking account of what is undoubtedly an important historic subject. The impact of the English Bible cannot be over-estimated, and the struggle out of which it was born is well worth remembering.

It cannot be denied that the author is obviously writing this history from one point of view. One does not have to wait until the final chapter to discover that Mr Gulston's attitude to the scriptures is more or less fundamentalist. The Bible is represented not as the scriptures of the Christian Church but rather as if it had originated *in vacuo*. A curious reflection which the reader may permit himself is that one of the consequences of the achievement of the Open Bible has been the development of biblical exegesis as a science and the flowering of biblical criticism. We have been enabled, as a result, to see the Christian scriptures in their proper context, as the authoritative writings of both the Jewish and the Christian Churches, and, precisely because we are clearer in perspective concerning it, the Bible yields up for us far more of its theological treasure. Paradoxically, the medieval Church which naturally figures in Mr Gulston's account as the villain of the piece, would have served the fundamentalist purpose far better if it had been triumphant in the struggle and no Open Bible had resulted.

It is because such reflections are stimulated that Mr Gulston's book may serve to do more than merely tell a story. Writing history with a bias is by no means unprofitable provided it stirs in the reader a desire to find the balanced truth of the matter.

J. McCULLOCH

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT

MEN OF UNITY. By STEPHEN NEILL. S.C.M. 5s.

THE S.C.M. PRESS is to be congratulated upon its entry into the modern "paperback" field with Bishop Stephen Neill's *Men of Unity*. Around a succession of personalities, from John R. Mott to Pope John XXIII he traces the development of the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century. About some much has already been written; but of all he has something new to say. About those of whom less has been written—Archbishop Germanos, for example, and Hendrik Kraemer, his comments are particularly valuable. There are also stimulating and

controversial *obiter dicta*; as upon William Temple's allowing himself to be persuaded not to go to India as Principal of St John's College, Agra, that "if he had been able to spend ten years in India at that formative period of his life, he would have been an even greater man than he came to be".

The book provides a valuable introduction to the ecumenical movement. Obviously, even in 192 closely-printed pages, it could not be complete. There is no mention, for example, of the World Alliance for Friendship through the Churches, which provided valuable scaffolding in the early days. It was, for example, at the World Alliance Conference at Oud Wassenaar in October 1919, that Archbishop Söderblom made important contacts, not least with G. K. A. Bell, then Chaplain to Archbishop Davidson. The book was first written for American readers and has little about the development of the ecumenical movement in England after the Copec Conference of 1924. Though the contribution of J. H. Oldham is assessed, there is no mention of the *Christian News-Letter*. Among the ecumenical builders also A. C. Craig deserves a place. Nor are any women leaders mentioned at all.

H. G. G. HERKLOTS

ORIGEN ON GRACE

ORIGEN AND THE DOCTRINE OF GRACE. By BENJAMIN DREWERY.
Epworth Press. 30s.

MR DREWERY'S study is another example of the current interest in the theology of Origen. It is the latest contribution to the distinguished series of Fernley-Hartley Lectures and has been published with commendable promptitude. The author tries to let Origen speak for himself as far as possible and introduces long sequences of well-chosen and admirably translated quotations.

He displays a warm (though not uncritical) admiration for Origen and defends him against many of the charges which have been raised against him. He brings out clearly the polarity in his thought between Grace as a Divine Gift and the place of human effort often phrased in the language of merit. The latter tendency seems to have been enhanced in the Latin translations of Origen's works. While the priority of Grace is sufficiently emphasized in the writings of Origen, in common with many other Fathers, he never succeeded in resolving the tension.

While we may be grateful for the excellent collection of material and many penetrating judgements in the course of the work, it is doubtful whether the chosen method of presentation enables the author to explore the full possibilities of his subject. He modestly disclaims comparison with more specialist studies but a more thematic treatment using the clues which his comments show him to possess might have been more rewarding. An extended treatment of Origen's comments on

the Epistle to the Romans bringing out similarities and differences from the thought of St Paul might have got him more incisively to the heart of his subject. Discussion of the central tension could with profit have been carried further. Certainly Mr Drewery has both the qualities and the equipment for further studies in this field.

There is an unduly large number of errors in the accentuation of Greek words, for which the speed at which the book was produced is no doubt largely responsible.

H. E. W. TURNER

THE CHURCH STANDS

WHERE WE STAND. By G. H. CLAYTON. Oxford University Press. 6s.

THE GOSPEL IN A WORLD OF CONFLICT By H. G. G. HERKLOTS. The Highway Press. 2s.

BROKEN PATTERNS. By ELSIE M. BAKER. The Highway Press. 5s.

THIS REVIEW is written at the moment when the news of the deportation of the Bishop of Johannesburg has been announced. All of us thank God for the gallant self-sacrificing stand he is making. The South African Church is, and has been, splendidly led during these years of mounting tension and it is a tonic and inspiration to turn to these charges of Archbishop Clayton, himself a former Bishop of Johannesburg. Here is a Christian statesman, a crusader, but above all a loving and understanding shepherd. These charges, by a coincidence, begin and end with the dictum of an African priest, "The Bishop has no colour". To this sentiment Archbishop Clayton added, "It is my desire to be a friend and father to you all". The pursuit of that ideal shines through these pages.

Again and again Hugh Herklots, now Canon Residentiary of Peterborough, has enlivened our sense of the wide fellowship of the Church and of its real work. In this book he sets that task right in the midst of our present world tensions. He begins with Edinburgh, 1910, and shows what fifty years have meant both in world-change and Church-growth. A book for the parish discussion group this winter.

Miss Baker's book brings us one of the most vivid accounts published since the war of the new Japan. The Church's work in this new situation is presented with an arresting clarity.

J. M. W. ADAM

REPARATION AND GRACE

A LIVING SACRIFICE. A Study of Reparation. By E. L. KENDALL. S.C.M. 21s.

THE MYSTERY OF GOD'S GRACE. By J. H. NICOLAS, O.P. Bloomsbury Publishing Co. 12s. 6d.

DR KENDALL'S book is a masterly attempt to rescue the concept of reparation from much of the disrepute into which it has fallen. The picture of an angry God "irritated by man's sins" about to send "some great calamity on the earth", or of Religious as "lightning conductors for the anger of God" is rightly put on one side. In its place is substituted a doctrine which is soundly based on the Bible, the fathers (especially Irenaeus and Athanasius), and the primary linguistic meaning of the word. "To restore things to their proper state" replaces "making amends for a wrong done".

Dr Kendall understands reparation as grounded in the biblical doctrines of the Love of God, the redemption wrought by Christ and the Church as the Body of Christ. It is an experience and an activity of the Christian life, an offering to be used by God for the salvation of others. Naturally Colossians 1. 24 is cited and made to bear heavy weight but the author is preserved from the errors he condemns by a firm grasp of the implications of Christian Baptism.

The treatment of the repair of the image defaced but not annihilated, the recapitulation of humanity in Christ, and the doctrine of deification found in Irenaeus and Athanasius is convincing. Yet the incarnate Lord did not only repair what had been defaced, he transformed it. These two fathers both emphasized the fact that the Incarnation exalts our human nature to greater heights than before the Fall. "He became man that we might become God." This does not come out so well in the chapter on Restoration.

The book then works out reparation in terms of suffering, sacrifice, worship, prayer, personal sanctification, and practical Christian living. This last chapter quoting examples from Central Africa, Yang Kia Ping, North China, the Oecumenical Sisterhood of Mary at Darmstadt, sees the Religious Orders as the primary organs of reparation. Lack of balance is clear here. Cannot a Christian marriage be as much "a witness within the Church to the fact that the relationship between fellow human beings should be that of mutual, unselfish love and as a challenge both to the world's lust and greed and to the spirit of cupidity within the Church"? That "reparation as a Christian activity is to be found within the general motive of the Religious life" is unquestionable, but it would be disastrous to conclude that it is confined there. Mercifully other examples are given later on which do something to redress the balance.

Dr Kendall's book is always lively and stimulating. The same can hardly be said of *The Mystery of God's Grace*, an English translation of Père J. H. Nicolas' work. To parody J. B. Phillips one might be tempted

to say "your God is too dull", none the less Père Nicolas presents a scholarly summary of the Thomistic position on the doctrine of grace though it is difficult to see what class of reader will really profit from it. The non-Roman Catholic will hardly read with sympathy that "The Blessed Virgin merited more and was more pleasing to God by a single stitch of a needle than St. Laurence on his grid iron."

DONALD BARNES

DIOCESAN HISTORY

THE DIOCESE OF CALIFORNIA, 1915—1940. By EDWARD LAMBE PARSONS. Church Historical Society. N.p.

BISHOP PARSONS, diocesan bishop of California from 1924 to 1940 traces the history of the diocese from the end of the first world war, through the economic and spiritual doldrums of the thirties, to the eve of the second world war. The facts are presented with orderliness and lucidity though somewhat prosaically. The first half of the book follows the sequence of events and developments whilst the second half deals with the building of Grace Cathedral, the institutions of the diocese, and the activities of various groups within it.

The record is not likely to attract the general reader, for the author keeps his nose very closely to the diocesan grindstone with scarcely a glance at important issues in the wider world. It is significant that although missions are frequently mentioned these are all within the diocesan boundaries, never outside them. The account of the "Every Member Canvass" launched in 1920 and forerunner of the stewardship campaigns that have since spread far beyond the U.S.A. is of more than passing interest. References to reunion occur on several pages and four out of nine extracts from Bishop Parson's convention addresses are on this theme. One could legitimately expect greater precision regarding Church principles relevant to such a subject. The initiative of the lay-folk is an encouraging aspect of diocesan life, illustrated by the organization known as "the Round Table", as is also the continuous training of the clergy in "the School of the Prophets".

Several of the photographs are of poor quality and the lack of an index in a book of this type is a serious omission.

A. E. A. SULSTON

LATE CONVERSION

FROM PAGAN TO CHRISTIAN. By LIN YUTANG. Heinemann. 16s.

THIS IS not the book for the reader who seeks a blow by blow, biographical account of a conversion. There is, in fact, practically no autobiography in the book, at least until page 236. But in this case, that

is a commendation, for Lin Yutang's intellectual and spiritual odyssey is a far more gripping matter than any series of the more mundane biographical incidents.

A China-born Chinese, Dr Lin's parents were Christian. In adolescence he felt all the tensions of a Christianity not yet truly incarnate in Chinese culture and the pull of that culture won. His grasp of Oriental thought and religion, added to a mastery of the thinkers of the West, has made him a world-renowned philosopher. The popularity of his previous books amply proves his capacity to write.

He is now a Presbyterian. But his Christian beliefs are very much his own. "I think the Christian concept of original sin is too mystical" (page 172). "It is axiomatic that as one becomes more theological, one becomes more bigoted and less pious" (page 193). The discussion of doctrinal differences he finds "futile" (page 231).

You can never read Lin Yutang for his orthodoxy. But your own orthodoxy can be immeasurably enriched if you do. This is a good book. Do not be put off by the blurb on the jacket.

DEWI MORGAN

CHURCH HISTORY

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY. By MARTIN E. MARTY. Darton, Longman and Todd. 18s.

"VARIATIONS on an original theme." If all "short histories of Christianity" fall under this heading, Dr Marty's variations are unusual, in that he has attempted to set them to the four "notes" of the Church — one, holy, catholic, apostolic.

A fascinating mode of treatment, it seems: its very novelty presents the author with difficulties which he has not been able successfully to overcome. It is, for instance, both irritating and confusing to the reader, having in one chapter caught the atmosphere of crusades, medieval cathedrals and universities, suddenly to find himself plunged back in

On the credit side, the book is informative, many of its scenes are the next to the world of Constantine and Christological controversies. vivid and colourful, and it is entirely free from partisan bias. Nevertheless, there is a heavy weight in the opposite scale. For whom, one asks, is the volume intended? Hardly the serious student, since it is of necessity a brief survey, whole movements being passed over in a few lines. For the general reader then? But can any "general reader" be expected to understand words like "biblicistic", "escalatorial", "anthropocentric orientation", and "psychosomatic imbalance"? Or such a phrase as "a sort of osmosis or capillary action"?

Dr Marty refers in the Preface to the friend who "translates me into English". A pity she did not carry the process considerably further!

GORDON HUELIN

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE COUNTRY PARISH TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By FRANK WEST.
S.P.C.K. 5s. 6d.

THE ARCHDEACON of Newark is a shrewd but sympathetic observer of the rural Church, from within and without: not the least merit of this delightful book is that it will greatly encourage the country clergy. The author, while dispelling a good many popular illusions, gives a very accurate picture of the country parish, past and present, enlivened with illustrations drawn from history and fiction. All the same, so much space is given to the long yesterdays behind To-day that the To-morrow of the title never really comes into view. "Prophecy", says the archdeacon, "is a hazardous business." This is true enough, and the forces that bring about major changes in rural life are mainly extraneous, and (to the countryman) unpredictable. But if "the Church should have a definite policy for the countryside" there must be some looking ahead, and it is disappointing that an author so well-equipped to do this should have been so cautious.

✠ KENNETH GRIMSBY

LITURGICS

THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR. By NOELE M. DENIS-BOULET. Burns and Oates. 8s. 6d.

THE EASTERN LITURGIES. By IRENEE-HENRI DALMAIS, O.P. Burns and Oates. 8s. 6d.

THESE BOOKS are translations of French contributions to the Roman Catholic "Faith and Fact" series which is being produced in Europe and America. Both are masterpieces of comprehension. They are, perhaps, solid to the point of indigestibility for the average layman: but ordinands and clergy will find them inexpensive and extremely valuable introductions to their respective subjects. Their value would have been enhanced, however, by the inclusion of Indices, despite their full Tables of Contents.

Mme Denis-Boulet's book covers a wide field, from pre-Christian calendars to present proposals for reforms and their possible effects on the Church's year. Where limitations of space preclude a full discussion, she throws out valuable hints on the further study of some topics; as, for example, the influence of the Qumran Essenes, the chronology of Holy Week and the Last Supper, and the Sunday rest. She concludes with an excellent chapter on the Sacredness of Time, summed up by a quotation from the Encyclical *Mediator Dei*. "The Liturgical Year . . . is no cold and lifeless representation of past events . . . It is Christ himself, living on in his Church, and still pursuing that path of boundless mercy which . . . he began to tread during his life on earth." Bearing

in mind its obvious limitations for Anglican readers, this is a good little book.

The Eastern Liturgies is a mine of information which is not easily come by elsewhere in one book. In just over one hundred and thirty pages Fr Dalmais attempts to outline the origins of the various Eastern Churches and then describe and analyse not only their eucharistic liturgies but also their other forms of worship. He has, in fact, tried to do too much. One could wish that he had been allowed two volumes in which he would have had opportunity to provide far greater extracts from liturgical texts. But there are many good things here—not least the short chapter in which the author attempts to do briefly for the Eastern rites what Edmund Bishop did many years ago in his brilliant essay on the Genius of the Roman Rite.

R. C. D. JASPER

CHRISTIAN OUTLINE

THE WOOD FOR THE TREES. By a Religious of C.S.M.V. Faith Press. 9s. 6d.

THIS LITTLE book which carries as a sub-title the words “an outline of Christianity”, is the reissue, with a new preface, of a book first published in 1933. This preface expounds in an interesting way the content and significance of the creation myths in the early chapters of Genesis and suggests that they exhibit a threefold rhythm of chaos, conflict, cosmos which became in Hebrew thought “the pattern act of God”. Indeed creation itself in this context can be regarded as an act of salvation.

The chapters which follow carry the reader from the creation to the Church in England from the Reformation to the present day in just less than two hundred pages. It is an astonishing achievement of compression with a clarity and allusiveness of thought which make the book as useful to those with some considerable knowledge of Christian history as to those who might wish to inform themselves of the main stages of the growth of the Church in the world. Such a picture can be of great value in bringing conviction of the truth and effectiveness of the gospel embodied in the Church. In these pages Church history is presented in a perspective which removes it from arid academic study and puts it firmly within the area of Christian belief in the Holy Spirit. So the closing sentence of the historical survey—“the ship of Pentecost is trawling still and we, hands on her middle deck, look out over the uncharted ocean ahead, *expecting*”—leads into a meditation of great profundity and range on the promised consummation of the divine purpose of love. A book which it was certainly worthwhile to reprint.

F. J. TAYLOR

AN EVANGELIST'S THEOLOGY

WESLEY'S CHRISTOLOGY. By JOHN DESCHNER. Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas. \$4.50.

THIS BOOK is the printed version of a doctrinal thesis for the University of Basle, written under the supervision of Karl Barth. Like most such productions it is workmanlike but unexciting, useful but rather ponderous. It attempts to elucidate the doctrine of the person of Christ presupposed in the preaching and pastoral work of Wesley. The Wesleyan Christology might not inappropriately be entitled "the presupposed Christ", for it has to be gathered from hundreds of short almost incidental allusions in the absence of any detailed or systematic statement. Wesley was a scholarly evangelist but no systematic theologian. The picture which emerges from the study and co-ordination of these fragmentary materials is of a Christ in the Nicene and Chalcedonian tradition, in which his divine nature and exalted state receive considerable, even disproportionate emphasis. Through a detailed study of the work of Christ the theme is closely related to the preaching of salvation by grace which occupied the energies of Wesley for more than fifty years. Reference to Protestant orthodoxy provides an adequate historical context for the thought of the great evangelist particularly in relation to the great Reformation emphases on Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King. Some readers will be glad to be introduced in this way to the theological importance of the *Sermons* and the *Notes on the New Testament* which form so important a part of the legacy which Wesley bequeathed to his followers.

F. J. TAYLOR

EPISCOPAL PIONEER

A BISHOP ON SAFARI. By LESLIE E. STRADLING. S.P.C.K. 5s. 6d.

IN 1952, Bishop Stradling went from Masasi to be first diocesan of South-West Tanganyika, where the Church's ministry is principally amongst village Africans along the North-East shore of Lake Nyasa and the hill country above. From his mountain cottage, the Bishop plans his journeys and goes by car, bus, canoe, or on foot to visit his large scattered congregations.

In alien surroundings, but compensated by the vigour of African life, and the beauty of lake and hillside, he finds his work justified by the universality of Christianity overleaping cultural barriers. His assessment of African character is conditioned by his sacramental views: "God has committed to me the power of purifying and strengthening and comforting people in their weakness and need" (p. 82). The African's religion depends not on emotion, but on what *God* does. Community sense is strong and stabilizes conduct. But he makes some severe judgments: the land has no written history, art, or inventive genius; the

African is adolescent, prone to fatalism, jealousy, drunkenness, promiscuity: so the Gospel must lead him to repentance and a better way of life.

The Bishop judges missions too. The Church should stand apart from politics, but help raise general standards. A more spiritual character is needed in education. His assessment of medical missions (pp. 84-7) is wise and far-reaching, with an eloquent plea for Christian hospitals. His pictures of catechists and African clergy, with what their own people expect of them (pp. 71-2) are particularly revealing. His sensitive picture of a pioneer diocese supported by U.M.C.A. may be summed up by his prayer: "that Jesus might always stand on the Nyasa shore, and that his disciples might know that it was Jesus."

G. E. MARRISON

SOCIAL NEEDS IN THE NORTH

THE CHURCH AND SCOTTISH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1780-1870. By STEWART MECHIE. Oxford University Press. 25s.

THIS IS a well-documented and fascinating study of social conditions in the selected period. It gives an honest, if sometimes distressing, account of the attitude of the Established Church towards the appalling problems of poverty, housing, temperance, and education. The modern reader can hardly fail to be horrified at the Pharisaism of the Church leaders who, adopting the current economic doctrine of *laissez-faire*, allowed the "lower classes" to be herded together like cattle and yet expected them to exercise "moral restraint" in reproducing their species. But here and there voices were raised on behalf of social reform and Dr Mechie has done good service in sketching the lives and aims of Chalmers, Alison, Brewster, and others.

The book is based on the author's Cunningham Lectures addressed to Divinity students at New College, Edinburgh, and perhaps it is for this reason that no mention is made of the social work of the Episcopal Church in this period. Yet Bishop Forbes of Brechin became the beloved leader of the working men of Dundee during his episcopate 1847-75. We must be grateful for the valuable addition to his lectures of three chapters of a more general character but further editing would have been welcome, notably in chapter five where Thomas Chalmers is introduced as a new figure and a summary of his achievements is given although the previous chapter has been entirely devoted to his life and work. Both his original audience and the wider public to whom this volume is now addressed would have benefited if Dr Mechie had not been content with his retrospect and rather tame conclusion but had indicated (however briefly) the need for Christian concern in social conditions in Scotland even in the age of the Welfare State. Glasgow still has its Gorbals, Dundee its "single-ends", and Edinburgh its insanitary warren-like tenements while most of the respectable folk who fill the pews of

their parish churches on Communion Sundays pass by on the other side. The Christian conscience needs arousing to the clamouring demands of to-day. Will not Dr Mechie turn his searchlight on to the present century?

PHYLLIS GRAHAM

THE SCOTS KIRK

A CHURCH HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By J. H. S. BURLEIGH. Oxford University Press. 42s.

THOSE who had the privilege of association with Professor Burleigh during the recent series of Anglo-Presbyterian "Conversations" will be happily prepared for the qualities exhibited in this book: a masterly handling of the historical material, firm but kindly judgments, and an open-hearted generosity of understanding. The theme is immensely complicated, but it is presented here with admirable lucidity, and in a style which makes the book not only easy but enthralling to read.

Its publication is *felix opportunitate*, in the year (1960) when the author had been given the great honour of the Moderatorship of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and when that Church itself was celebrating the fourth centenary of the Reformation in Scotland. At the same time it is impossible not to regret that this book and two recent works of Dr Donaldson were not available before the Conversations began; they might well have made a real difference both to the form which the Report of these deliberations took, and to the reception given to it both in Scotland and in England. But at least any renewed Conversations should be made more profitable by the study of this fresh store of expertly gathered material.

Professor Burleigh's book is divided into five parts. Part I, "The Beginnings" leads us, in four chapters, from Roman Britain and the early British Church, through a missionary period in which Iona and Lindisfarne have special significance, to the time (eleventh century) when "*Ecclesia Scoticana* emerges with a bishop at its head, with its properties, rights and privileges recognized by the king, and ministering to the people from many countries".

Part II, "The Medieval Church", consists of ten chapters; the first dealing with the kingdom of Scotland 1057-1560, and the last with "The Crisis of the Church" 1559-60. In between we are given illuminating sketches of the Parish Church, the new Monasticism, the Bishopricks, the Friars, Colleges and Collegiate Churches, the Episcopate in action, and "Opposition and Reform". One of the worst features of this period was the widespread acquisition of parish churches by the monasteries; this became increasingly scandalous as monastic ideals deteriorated from the fourteenth century onwards, the nadir being reached before the end of the fifteenth century, when we find abbacies

bestowed *in commendam* on royal favourites whether clerical or not, and even on royal bastards of tender years.

There is little trace of Wycliffite influence in Scotland, but in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the opinions of Luther had made sufficient impact on the country to provoke legislation against the admission of his books; an impact considerably strengthened by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1528. Stimulated, perhaps, by Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, Parliament in 1541 passed an Act "for reforming of Kirkis and Kirkmen", but nothing came of it, and other Acts passed at the same time were directly hostile to the reforming movement. Matters were brought to a crisis by the burning of George Wishart in 1546, followed by the murder of Cardinal Beaton in retribution. The real beginnings of the Reformed Church in Scotland Professor Burleigh finds in the return of John Knox nine years later. By 1560 Parliament had legalised the Reformers' Creed, but a long struggle still lay ahead.

It is with this struggle that the author is concerned in Part III: "Reformation"; and he points out that it lasted for one hundred and thirty years. The subjects of the five chapters in this part are—the ideals of the Reformers; Queen Mary; Church and State under James VI; Charles I and the Covenants; and "From the Restoration to the Revolution". The terrain here is more familiar to the ordinary reader of Church history, but Professor Burleigh's insight has given us memorable portraits of John Knox, Mary Queen of Scots and Andrew Melville, among others; and a handsome acknowledgement of the political achievement of King James in Scotland. It was the unwisdom of his son, and the Romanism of James II, which led to the final victory of Presbyterianism in 1690.

So we come to part IV: "The Church by Law Established". A chart at the end of the book illustrates the tangled story of divisions and reunions between 1690 and 1929: perhaps more might have been said about the drastic persecutions which reduced the Episcopalians from a position of numerical strength to "the shadow of a shade". But there are illuminating chapters on Presbyterian "Moderation" and on the Evangelical revival in Scotland; and a stirring account of the famous Disruption of 1843, and the events which led up to it. A later chapter traces a process which is too easily overlooked—the recovery which took place within the Established Church. Had that recovery been lacking, the welcome reunion of 1929 could hardly have been reached. In this part of the book, again, Professor Burleigh gives us a number of vivid character-sketches; though one reader at least has been disappointed to find no mention of Thomas Guthrie.

Part V consists of one short chapter only: on "the Church of Scotland since 1929". This includes such modern events as the founding of the "Iona Community", and the Anglo-Presbyterian Conversations; it ends with a noble and notable statement of what the Church of Scotland means to its loyal adherents.

THE NATURE OF ROME

THE RIDDLE OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM. By JAROSLAV PELIKAN. Hodder and Stoughton. 16s.

THIS is a very remarkable book, of a kind which it would have been virtually impossible to find even ten years ago. The author is a young Lutheran minister who is also Professor of Historical Theology in the University of Chicago and he has also studied at the Jesuit institution of St Louis University. His primary purpose in writing this work is clearly to persuade his fellow Protestants to take seriously their responsibility *vis-à-vis* the great Roman communion, and in the course of this task he gives a sympathetic and penetrating discussion of the whole Roman system.

The book falls into three parts. The first is a historical account of the present situation, as seen from the author's point of view: How Christianity became Catholic, how Catholicism became Roman, the Tragic Necessity of the Reformation, the Roman Church in the Modern World. The second part consists of a comprehensive survey of the whole system, doctrinal and practical, of contemporary Roman Catholicism. Both these parts are written with great care and with a scrupulous discrimination between those features which are of the essence of the Roman position and those which, whether acceptable or not, are local or temporal manifestations. One who, like the present reviewer, would claim to be a Catholic without being a Roman may sometimes find himself surprised at the precise point at which the author draws his line of demarcation and at some of the judgements which he makes. (Incidentally, it is creation in time, not creation out of nothing, that St Thomas says is known only by revelation (p. 139), and neither Pascal nor von Hügel was condemned as heretical (p. 141).) There can be no doubt, however, of Dr Pelikan's determination to put the best construction upon everything; when deploring the enthronement of St Thomas he defends the Angelic Doctor against his disciples and interpreters, and, while he has little use for Mariology as Rome has developed it, he admits that it preserves values which Protestantism is only beginning to discover how to defend. However, it is in the third part of the book, which bears the title "A Theological Approach to Roman Catholicism", that the really important things are said. Dr Pelikan insists that Protestants must recognize that the Church is more universal than Protestant Christendom and that they need Roman Catholicism to prove their own catholicity: "Protestants are catholic if they realise that Roman Catholics are Christian" (p. 175). And he goes on to list a number of respects in which Protestants and Roman Catholics have in recent years drawn closer than at any time since the Reformation. While Romans have applied themselves to the serious and scholarly study of the Scriptures, Protestants have rediscovered the importance of tradition, both in the composition and the interpretation of the sacred books. "Suddenly now, Protestant theology has begun to listen to tradition as it has not since the Reformation. At the very same time

Roman Catholic Theology has begun to listen to the Scriptures as it has not for many centuries" (p. 180). Again, both Romans and Protestants have acquired a new interest in, and a new perspective upon, the Fathers of the Church which has made the purely polemical use of their writings obsolete. Furthermore, while Protestant scholars have been ready to recognize that the Middle Ages were not all darkness and the Reformation all light, a number of Catholic scholars have drastically revised the accepted picture of the Reformers. The effect of the Liturgical Movement upon Catholicism and Protestantism has been noticeable in the direction of *rapprochement* and understanding. All this, however, represents only a beginning, though a welcome and significant one, and Dr Pelikan turns in conclusion to inquire what the next steps should be. He deprecates individual conversions to Rome: "Regardless of what this may mean for Protestantism itself, such a conversion actually cheats Rome of what it deserves to hear from Protestant thought" (p. 198). Nevertheless, "the burden of our separation means that Protestants and Roman Catholics have a mutual responsibility to and for each other" (p. 202), and this is especially binding upon Protestants since it is easier for them than for Romans to accept it. There must be gentle and firm testimony, and this is impossible without mutual understanding and discussion. Together with this there must be honest self-examination and assessments of needs and debts. "Protestants must discover what made the Reformation possible, while Roman Catholics must discover what made the Reformation necessary" (p. 209). And, finally, both parties must have a concern for the total Church which will lead them to help and not hinder each other.

The author's last word is upon the absolute necessity for Protestants to face the challenge of Rome and to keep the issue of reunion central. Trent, the Vatican, the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption are barricades which seem at present insurmountable, even if Rome were ready to concede a vernacular liturgy, a married clergy and communion in both kinds. But even on these points, Protestants must keep an open mind. "Is there, for example", Dr Pelikan asks, "any sense at all in which Protestants are ready to say that a man is justified by faith *and* works, or that Scripture *and* the traditions belong to the corpus of Christian authority? And if there is a sense in which such an 'and' is permissible, does it correspond to Trent? Or what is the basic difference between the assumption of Mary and the ideas about the ascension of Enoch and Elijah that formed part of orthodox Protestant theology for centuries and still belong to the faith of many believers? If the latter have room within Protestantism, must a doctrine of the assumption of Mary be ruled out as not only unscriptural but anti-scriptural?" (p. 221). Such questions, our author insists, must be faced, if only because "the time may well come—perhaps in the twentieth century, more likely in the next—when Protestantism will be faced with alternatives more terrible than reunion" (p. 222). And he quotes the

words of Bishop Lilje that "each generation of Protestants must re-think the decision of the sixteenth century".

As I said at the beginning of this review, this is a very remarkable book.

E. L. MASCALL

DEVOTION AND COMMONSENSE

ST FRANCIS DE SALES: SELECTED LETTERS. Edited by ELISABETH STOPP. Faber. 25s.

MARGERY KEMPE: AN EXAMPLE IN THE ENGLISH PASTORAL TRADITION. By Martin Thornton. S.P.C.K. 15s.

THE publication of a few more books such as the two under review should do much to shatter the threatened autarchy of "intellectual love". As it is, the notion has had a long enough run: its consequences to Chalcedonian orthodoxy are dire, and in the field of pastoral relationships disastrous. So long as the notion lasts, or is propagated as *the* explanation of all spiritual life, Jansenius yet lives, and Port Royal yet raises its dismal banners against that joy in creation which the Bible asserts is the joy of God. It is therefore good to discover that Dr Stopp unashamedly speaks of the Bishop of Geneva's "friendship", "affection", for the Baronne de Chantal—one of the bishop's latest biographers falls for the smear campaign and mincingly speaks of "spiritual affection" and "spiritual friendship". So firm a foothold has Jansenism in the spiritual life of Catholics in this country, so disastrous the contiguity of things French to the Oxford fathers, that the astringent common sense of Francis of Geneva is now and again greeted almost with astonishment, and even at times with suspicion.

Dr Stopp has done her work well, and has produced one hundred and twenty one letters of Francis (as against the one hundred and fifty nine of Sidney Lear's 1889 edition). If the ecclesiastical historian regrets that we have no more than side-lights on the administration of a very busy bishop, yet the terms of the series precludes any other selection than that of letters which bear on the spiritual life. The translation is uniformly good (where your reviewer has checked it against the Annecy edition), even though it might have been rewarding to have had it done in an even more idiomatic English style. Here and there we are back to the somewhat curious language beloved of some authors, and Dr Stopp allows herself the phrase "interior languor", where "mental and spiritual lassitude" would have been much preferable. Such a blemish is of minor import, however, and the massive simplicity of Francis is nowhere obscured. It was a simplicity which refused to take the self seriously—and one is left wondering, after reading his letter to Angélique Arnuald, what might have been the history of French spirituality had Francis directed that unhappy woman.

"Come now, stop fluttering and being in a hurry. . ." is precisely right, and prefigures that advice of the great English prelate: "Don't fuss—trust in God." Or again: "You say that you do nothing at all in prayer. . . . But then again, sometimes you don't even do that, you tell me, but you kneel there like something inanimate, or a statue. Well, this is no mean achievement, either." That it may be our lot to be just that—statues—doing nothing, unable to say anything, is a situation which Francis faces with utter calm and a refusal to be "fussed". A final quotation, this time on liberty, cannot be foregone here: "Try interrupting the meditation of someone who has got attached to this exercise. You will see him taken aback, upset and irritated. A person who has real liberty of spirit will leave his prayer with an unruffled face and a heart well disposed towards the importunate friend who has disturbed him. For it is all the same to him whether he is serving God by meditating or by bearing with his neighbour: both are the will of God, but helping his neighbour seems to be necessary at that special moment".

With all this in mind, it is not at all without significance that Fr Thornton has seen fit to sub-title his book: "an example in the English pastoral tradition".

Margery comes delightfully alive in this book, a woman of that homely spirituality which has ever encompassed diverse characters like Andrewes, George Herbert, John Mason Neale, Sam Johnson, and even the repentant Sam Pepys. It is all so very English—unshamedly so—with its roots in Bede, its consolidation in Anslem, and warmed by the humanism of Bernard of Clairvaux. Aelred of Rievaulx would have been perfectly at home with Ken and Margery Kempe with Mrs Godolphin.

Fr Thornton pleads that Margery should be approached from the ascetical, pastoral standpoint: ". . . for whenever theology is brought to bear upon Margery and her *Book*, they are always discussed in terms of mysticism. I submit the view that this is the wrong approach altogether". So the author goes on to plead that this warm-hearted example of homely ("domestic" is the author's word) spirituality should be treated as a first-class parishioner, with the additional caution that there are a great many more Margerys about nowadays than we allow for. It is all in line with Thornton's thesis in *Pastoral Theology* that all mature Christians do undergo experiences which are rightly called "contemplative"—but that all the damage is done when we propose to lump them all together under the name "contemplatives" or "mystics".

"Margery seems to me to be a good deal sounder than many moderns who will talk about their mental prayer all day long and be horrified at the idea of regular Offices." So much for undifferentiated enthusiasm, even if it is dressed up in that much-misused word "spiritual". She was an intensely *alive* person, with the awareness which habitual recollection alone can bring: "If she saw a seemly man, she had great pain looking at him, least she might have seen him who was both God and man."

The late Dom Gregory Dix remarked that on one day during the war he had heard but two human voices: that of the nun who had made the responses at Mass, and that of Tommy Handley in "Itma". The Puritan and the sensualist would have alike been shocked, while Francis the Bishop and Margery the housewife would have understood perfectly.

C. S. MANN

WHAT IS MAN?

THE CONCEPT OF MAN: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY. Edited by S. RHADHAKRISHNAN and P. T. RAJU. Allen and Unwin. 42s.

TO THE Greeks, man is a rational animal; to the Jews, he is a religious animal; to the Chinese, an ethical animal; to the Indians, a mystical one. That the four great philosophical traditions are not contradictory but complementary in their doctrine of man, is the theme of this profound and stimulating book.

Readers of C.Q.R. will at once want to know why the Christian tradition does not find a place in the study. The reason is given on page 37. The four traditions chosen own no distinction between philosophy and religion. Christianity and Islam, on the other hand, owe their character as revealed religions to Judaism, and borrow their philosophy from the Greeks.

But the idea of revelation has a profound effect on philosophy, and it is by no means an inhibiting one. The Christian doctrine of man is not reducible to Jewish and Greek strands without remainder. The Logos is the Light which lightens every man, whether Jew, Greek, Chinese, or Hindu; and the extent to which the Logos-idea is common to all traditions is admirably shown in this book. But the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us, and so the ultimate questions with which the book is concerned are capable of an answer which satisfies at all levels of consciousness.

It is in the final chapter, where Professor Raju gathers up the threads of the four essays on the great traditions and tries to weave them into some sort of synthesis, that one feels his argument crying aloud for the doctrine of the Incarnation to set the coping-stone on the whole structure. (If only this chapter could have been written by Teilhard de Chardin!) He shows convincingly that all traditions preach transcendence of self or "non-egoity" (his own phrase) as the goal for man, whether this be understood in terms of the Aristotelian *bios theoretikos*, the Confucian *jen*, the Hindu realization of the *Atman* (identified with the Brahman, yet distinct from it), or the Christian Vision of God. Yet he is at a loss to provide any positive content for this idea.

It is sometimes observed that even the teachings of the *Bhagavadgita*, so far as definite action goes, are not enough. It asks Arjuna to follow the movements of the Cosmic Person. . . . In Western language, Arjuna is asked to act according to the nature and movements of the Logos. But

what are the nature and movements of the Logos? We have no answer. . . . All that Arjuna could get is that he should perform his duties according to his station and caste. The crux of the problem lies here. Are the duties handed down by custom and tradition true? How are we to judge their truth? One may say that they should accord with the Cosmic Reason or Person. But how are we to know that they do? *Do we know the nature of the Cosmic Person?* (my italics)

To the editors of this book it is *a priori* evident that while each philosophical or religious tradition has its own contribution to make, none can claim a monopoly of truth. It must be admitted that Christendom has usually been too nervous of syncretism to recognize the value of insights derived from other traditions; which is one reason for the present-day check in missionary expansion. We have, for example, been too ready to dismiss Indian religion as hopelessly other-worldly. Raju provides a valuable corrective here; in fact, if he is right, it wrestles with precisely that antinomy of contemplation *versus* action, or mysticism *versus* morals which Western Christendom has never succeeded in resolving.

Omne verum, a quocumque dicatur, a Spiritu Sancto est. St Justin was not the only Christian theologian to see the operation of the Holy Spirit outside the Church. And the claim to possess Truth (or rather, to be possessed by him who is The Truth) does not imply that the account which the Church gives of this Truth at any given moment is absolute or final. It may well be the task of this generation to sit at the feet of the philosophical schools of the East, and learn from them to draw more deeply on the unsearchable riches of Christ. This book will provide a valuable introduction to those who wish to submit to such a discipline.

ROBIN ANSTEY

THE WORD AND THE FLESH

CHRIST ON PARNASSUS. By P. T. FORSYTH. Independent Press. 17s. 6d.

THE most puzzling thing about this book, is its publication—or, rather, re-publication—some half-century after its original writing. Apart from the adherents of the present vogue for this distinguished Edwardian theologian, it is difficult to imagine who is supposed to be particularly interested in his reflections on what he knew of music, poetry, art, and architecture prior to 1910. The volume itself, with neither index nor illustrations, compares badly with an excellent little up-to-date paperback covering much the same ground at a third of the price. (*The Church and the Arts*, S.C.M., 6s.) Moreover, when one considers first the revolution which has occurred in all the arts during the past fifty years, and, secondly, all the new information and the fresh understanding we have of the arts before that period, then one can only conclude that there are undisclosed reasons why the Independent Press has presented us with this addition to the Forsyth Saga.

However, as a period piece, it provides a fascinating example of the wrestlings of a moralist with the emotional effects of his sense-perceptions. Dr Forsyth did not very much like the sort of flesh the Word became, and this, I suppose, underlies the suspicion in which all puritans hold works of art which excite their emotions—especially those which are in some way connected with religion. For instance Dr Forsyth is greatly attracted by Gothic architecture, and it would be difficult to find anywhere a passage which exceeds in enthusiasm the following characteristic eulogy :

I have seen Lincoln Cathedral from miles to the west like a great eagle cowering with spread wings just in the act of taking flight. The cathedral is a lyric sigh and a carved prayer. The lightness of the structure, its ethereal fineness, seems to spurn a nest on earth. *Spernit humum fugiente penna*. It rises like an exhalation from the soil. The fabric seems almost organic and tremulous with life. No architecture like the Gothic so spiritualises, refines, and casts heavenwards the substance which it handles. It volatilises the stone. It gives the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

Yet, only a few pages later, he quotes, with approval, the comment that the devil invented Gothic to prevent the people from hearing the Gospel! "Christianity", he says, "is not an aesthetic religion, it is an ethical." Perhaps, if he had accepted St Augustine's dictum "The Word is, in a way, the art of Almighty God", he would not have come to such a one-sided view of the Incarnation. He might have avoided such extremist statements about church building as the following :

It is not beauty we want in the fabric, as it is not splendour it is meant to house. The first consideration is acoustical, and it is one less ignored by the Gothic architects than precluded by the Gothic style. . . . The church must be primarily an auditorium, even when it is not preaching but prayer that we have in view. And the style of the building now, as at the first, must develop according to that practical purpose, and not according to an aesthetic ideal.

In spite of the over-emphasis on the heard Word at the expense of the seen Sacrament, there is, of course, a good deal of sound sense in these opinions. But, in the light of the current liturgical movement and of the new understandings and possibilities of the modern movement in architecture, Dr Forsyth's comments are inadequate in our present situation. Similar considerations apply in the fields of poetry, painting, and music—and no doubt they would also in the field of drama had this engaged his attention.

GILBERT COPE

ALL ABOUT BAPTISM

INFANT BAPTISM IN THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES. By J. JEREMIAS. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

THE PROPOSED RITES OF BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION RECONSIDERED. By E. C. WHITAKER. S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.

CEREMONIAL NOTES FOR THE PROPOSED BAPTISM-CONFIRMATION RITES. By P. FERGUSON-DAVIE. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

ONE LORD, ONE BAPTISM (W.C.C. Report). S.C.M. 6s.

THE spate of books on "Christian Initiation" shows no sign of drying up; and each of these contributions will be found of value by some readers. The most important is that by Professor Jeremias; and no one who argues for or against infant baptism can afford to ignore it. The book consists of a learned but readable survey (full marks to the translator) of the evidence concerning the practice of baptizing infants, from the New Testament period down to the end of the fourth century. The author concludes that children, both of parents already Christian and also of those who joined the Church with children already born, were baptized in apostolic times; and that the practice was continued even during the period when there was a tendency to defer Baptism until the end of life, in the hope of dying *candidatus*. The evidence is gathered from literature, from liturgy, and from inscriptions; and it is extremely impressive. The only consideration that led to the deferment of Baptism in the case of children of Christian parents was a bad, not to say superstitious, motive.

Mr Whitaker's book is most timely and welcome. Here, at last, are comments upon the Liturgical Commission's Report by one who is both learned in the history of the subject and experienced in the administration of Baptism and Confirmation in "ordinary parishes". His reconsideration is therefore both learned and practical and displays a lively understanding of what is sound in principle and possible in practice. In general, he approves of the Commission's proposals. But the book is not just a puff; and the author's suggestions for the improvement of the proposed rites deserve very careful consideration. As far as I know, this is the first serious study of the Report to appear; and it is to be hoped that all those who discuss the Commission's proposals will read the book attentively.

The third book is a pamphlet of some twenty pages whose contents are fully described by its title—save only that it includes music for the blessing of the water and for the Confirmation Prayer. The "Notes" are clearly written; and anyone who follows them carefully will achieve a reverent and orderly act of worship. The author has had, however, to contend with the difficulty that he has to give directions for a particular service without being able to assume an uniform standard of (particularly episcopal) ceremonial in general. The result is to give the impression, so to speak, of trying to teach one's grandmother to suck several eggs at once; and this may give her indigestion. But it is a

pleasure to read a book of ceremonial which does not assume that every parish worships either in St Peter's Rome or in Salisbury Cathedral.

One Lord, One Baptism contains two reports by the Commission on Christ and the Church to the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. They are interim reports, which nevertheless show some progress in inter-confessional thinking on the lines laid down at Lund. The former explores the connection between the unity of the Church and the unity of God, and touches upon its consequences for Christian life and worship. The latter is entitled "The Meaning of Baptism", a subject which lends itself less readily to summary consideration. In exploring doctrine the Commission is dealing with a limited authoritative literature; but Baptism is a practice which has been carried out in very varied ways and circumstances for nearly two thousand years. The Baptism report is therefore marred by a certain amount of "blanket thinking", covering up problems of an historical and practical character, which the Commission has had no time to unravel, but which are nevertheless of some theological importance. The authors, however, are scholars who are aware of these problems; and this must increase our admiration for their courage in tackling the tasks set them, and for their success in achieving some solid result.

BERNARD WIGAN

CALVINISM

JOHN CALVIN AND THE CALVINIST TRADITION. By ALBERT-MARIE SCHMIDT. Longmans. 6s.

THE valuable series of translations from the French *Maîtres spirituels* series, to which this book belongs, has done much for a better understanding of big religious movements by the English general reader. Like its predecessors it is attractively illustrated and, whilst not of the quality of, for example, Marrou's *Saint Augustine*, is useful and informative. On the whole its hero is treated objectively, although there is rather too much of the intellectual complacency which has always been the besetting temptation of Calvinists to attract the outsider. It seems to be assumed that analysis without argument is enough to commend Calvin's ideas and that his opponents, Papists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, humanist philosophers, and "libertines" alike, were self-evidently wrong. From the point of view of the inquirer, it is a pity that M. Schmidt has restricted his selections from Calvin's writings to spiritual and ethical exhortations; no system can be understood solely from its begetter's application of it to life. Calvin's systematic theology is very inadequately summarized in the section describing the *Institutes* on pp. 84-9. Nothing is said of justification by faith and Calvinist predestinarianism is apologized for rather than expounded. All this is perhaps explained when one turns to the treatment of the Arminian

controversy on pp. 99-103, which speaks of a kind of ideal Calvinism, reserved for modern Calvinists to discover and distinct alike from Arminian liberalism, Gomarist rigorism, and even from the Calvinism of Calvin himself. We are not told in detail what this teaches but it seems more akin to an existentialist attitude than to a coherent body of doctrine. Indeed throughout the book one has the impression that its author finds Calvin an embarrassing spiritual ancestor, in personality if not in teaching. He insists upon Calvin's capacity for sympathy and friendship (pp. 74-8), but does not remove the impression of a naturally morose character striving heroically to be affable and gentle, as much seeking for an antidote to his own inner loneliness as filled with diffusive love. Of the Collège de Montaigu our author says that "in the eyes of the partisans of the new spirit of the age" it "stood for everything that violated nature" (p. 11); it may well be that Calvin's early sojourn there moulded his outlook for life. He could indeed have learned something from his great, if less respectable contemporary, Rabelais. For, despite all that can be said, the popular picture of him as a sour, if pitiable man, remains. He had an incurably bourgeois, not to say Philistine strain in him, which limited his wide learning. "It remains to us, then to paint and to carve only such things as are seen by the eye, in such a way that the Majesty of God, who is above human sight, might not be corrupted by empty fancies that can only insult it" (p. 147). The voice is that of Calvin discussing art; the mind is that of the perennial learned lowbrow, the academic "square". Is it surprising that Francis Bacon draws from his Calvinism the astonishing axiom: "I believe that God is so holy, pure, and jealous, that it is impossible for Him to be pleased with any creature, though the work of His own hands" (p. 155)? Even the most sympathetic reader may be inclined to draw the conclusion from this exposition of the Calvinist tradition that in order to become a Calvinist one must first cut oneself off from ordinary human assumptions and from fullness of life. For grace, as Calvin understands it, does not perfect a nature he thought destined to be transcended rather than redeemed. It is true, as Schmidt illustrates by the revealing passages he prints from Calvinist thinkers, that Calvinism varies in content with temperament and background; in different *milieux* it can be philosophic, ascetically exclusive, scholastic, pietistic, or Barthian. But one leaves this book with the feeling that the Calvinist has yet to be found who can say sincerely: *Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto*.

THOMAS M. PARKER

FIRST CHURCH HISTORIAN

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. By D. S. WALLACE-HADRILL. Mowbray. 35s.
 THE maxim *Clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi* has been more true of the parochial clergy of the past than it is to-day. It is therefore all the

greater pleasure to welcome this scholarly study on the difficult and not always congenial subject of Eusebius of Caesarea by the Vicar of a busy parish in Middlesbrough. It makes no claim to be exhaustive but the works to which reference is made in the footnotes and bibliography represent the main contributions in the field drawn from several languages. I have not been able to detect any serious omissions. While there are more learned monographs on particular aspects of the subject, there is no study which brings together so much material which is not readily available elsewhere. Eusebius is not a wholly attractive figure and commands our respect rather than our affection. If there are a few traces of whitewashing here and there, the author has striven strenuously to be fair. No major section of the voluminous writings of Eusebius is left untouched. The chapters on Eusebius and the Bible and Eusebius and Greek Philosophy are particularly well done. Though on the relation between Eusebius and the Arian Controversy there is often room for a second possible opinion, the reader is put in possession of all the relevant facts for an informed judgement. I know of no single work on Eusebius which gives within its compass so clear and competent an introduction to its subject.

H. E. W. TURNER

NEW GUINEA SECT

MAMBU. A MELANESIAN MILLENNIUM. By K. O. L. BURRIDGE. Methuen. 42s.

IN THIS monograph based on important field work carried out in New Guinea an account is given of a Melanesian "Cargo" movement initiated in the late thirties of the present century by a native named Mambu in the Bogia region of the Madang District. The Pidgin term "Cargo" covers a widespread cult, partly religious and partly politico-economic, which has found expression in millenarian messianic movements and exotic rites with an intensely nationalistic background for the purpose of securing articles of European manufacture in the belief that their possession will produce a new era of bliss and plenty when all wants will be supplied.

The formation and growth of this Cargo myth-dream is the result of the impact of European civilization on the native culture since the end of the last century with a view to creating this new order and new way of life free from white "exploitation" by traders, planters, and missionaries with their superior social, economic, and religious modes of thought, belief, behaviour, and administration. But in the creation of a new man and a new society moral regeneration is a significant Cargo theme and this raises a difficult situation for those engaged in missionary work. In his objective estimate of the place and function of missionary enterprise among the Tangu Dr BurrIDGE gives full weight to what has been attempted and accomplished in the last century,

especially by the Roman Catholic Society of the Divine Word, in the propagation of Christian faith and practice, and the establishment of an ordered form of marriage, education, and social intercourse in spite of the organized Cargo opposition, and the changing administrations during two World Wars and their aftermaths. Indeed, although the inquiry is primarily a first-rate piece of field work which merits the serious attention of all social anthropologists, it is also a book that should be carefully studied by missionaries and administrators working among peoples in a similar primitive state of culture on the fringes of civilization.

E. O. JAMES

ROLAND ALLEN

THE MINISTRY OF THE SPIRIT. By ROLAND ALLEN. Selected writings edited by DAVID M. PATON. World Dominion Press. 12s. 6d.

IT WAS high time that these writings should be re-published. It might almost be said that some of them are too late, for the sort of things that Roland Allen was saying in *Pentecost and the World*, published in 1917, have been said a great deal in recent years: that the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost was an entirely new phenomenon, and different from the Old Testament spirit of prophecy: that the gift was essentially a missionary gift: that complete self-committal to his guidance was the response of the apostolic age, and should be ours: that the gift produced an effect on those who received it which was unmistakable, and that the Spirit only came upon those who passed him on. But Roland Allen says these things more vigorously than most.

His work on *Non-Professional Missionaries* is equally vigorous and salutary, though a professional non-missionary (abroad in the late twenties and the thirties) may be forgiven for questioning some of his suggestions. Is it altogether admirable to try to claim complete disinterestedness—and therefore to receive nothing for missionary work? Have we not (most of us) felt that St Paul's remarks about preaching the gospel for nothing have an uncomfortable ring? It is more blessed to give than to receive: it is undeniably easier sometimes—and a missionary concerned only with giving, and not receiving, will miss his mark. Allen's dislike of *Mission Activities* is quite in tune with present day dislike of too much busyness in the parish: at the same time it is difficult to see how missionary work could have been done without organized education of children. *St Paul and the Judaizers* draws an interesting parallel between some of the things which western missionaries insist on, and the demands of the first-century Judaizers; but the dialogue form is not always happy.

The most important section of the book is *The Case for Voluntary Clergy*. Starting from the apostolic age, he points the contrast. Without abolishing the paid clergy or the parochial system, he would have a

body of priests, in secular work, ordained from each worshipping congregation, with the qualifications laid down in the letters to Timothy and Titus. It would be their work "not only to minister at the altar or to preach, but to show men how the common work of daily life can be done in the spirit of the priest" (p. 150). These priests would be qualified, but differently from the paid clergy. There would be a college of priests, in each worshipping community, with a paid priest to act as professional adviser to a group of such communities. Benefits from this would be, that we should need fewer professionals and could therefore demand a high quality: that we should be emphasizing the forgotten truth that Christianity is not a department of human activity but the atmosphere in which all activities are carried out.

There is much else here which is astonishingly relevant to 1961—and almost all of it is so easily readable (no professional jargon) as to be itself a shining example of that non-professionalism which its author advocates.

H. A. BLAIR

SCRIPTURES EXPLAINED

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND OUR TIMES. By MARGARET T. MONRO.
Longmans. 15s.

MISS MONRO has written her book with a wholly admirable purpose, namely to stimulate the man and woman in the pew to read the Old Testament more than they do, and she has set about her task in the right way. Realizing that the neglect from which the Old Testament suffers is due to the fact that people fail to see its value and relevance for their lives, she takes incidents, personalities, and ideas from the Old Testament and aims to show how they are relevant to contemporary life and problems. Thus she discusses Ezekiel's teaching as an answer to the "angry young men" of his day; suggests that Jeremiah's life and experiences have much to teach us about the true nature of patriotism; and commends the Old Testament teaching on the after life for the help it affords in rebutting the idea that belief in a future life turns faith into a mere insurance policy. This is certainly an excellent way to arouse the interest of the reader but a book has not achieved its purpose until it has satisfied as well as aroused the interest of its readers. There, at least for most Anglican readers, this book will fail and the reason is that Miss Munro as a Roman Catholic deals with Scripture in a way which is acceptable to few Anglicans. Thus she approaches the Old Testament through the Wisdom Literature on the grounds that this is nearest to us in time; but the overall impression left is that she is really concerned to show that reason precedes revelation. Again she tends to use Old Testament literature as if it were all of a piece and makes very little allowance for historical development. She makes no

distinction between events and the theological interpretation and explanation of events, and is content to read back into the events themselves the lessons which the theologians later learned from them. For example, when discussing the conquest of Canaan, she states that God would have given the Israelites victory over the iron chariots if they had been loyal to the covenant, but since they were disloyal they "were left to experience the natural consequences of fighting people with a more modern and powerful type of armament". This judgement is only possible because no attempt is made to distinguish the several sources which lie behind the history books; and the result is insipid moral judgements and a distorted view of the way God deals with men in history. Moral judgements which are valid as *a posteriori* lessons take on quite a different quality as *a priori* predictions.

Not the least of the difficulties that await the Anglican layman who reads this book are differences in nomenclature. He will find references made to books which are not in his Old Testament and names which are quite new and unknown. The explanation is quite simple and elementary to those who know, but this book is meant to be read by beginners, i.e. those who do not know, and the problem of finding out that Osee is the same as Hosea and that Nabuchodonosor means Nebuchadnezzar will be a formidable, if not impossible, barrier to those who do not read the Douay or Knox Bibles.

J. ROBINSON

ABBEY REMINISCENCES

SIXTY YEARS AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By JOCELYN PERKINS. James Clarke. 18s. 6d.

DURING the war Dr Perkins used part of the time necessarily spent in an air raid shelter in setting down on paper his reminiscences of his work at the Abbey and of many of the people with whom he had been associated during his long stay there. This book is the result.. What began as a private exercise, now appears in print to mark his diamond jubilee. (Dr Don in his foreword speaks of it as a golden jubilee but surely diamond is meant.) It is a collection of occasional writings centred in Dr Perkins' control of and unfailing interest in all that concerned the sacristy. He describes many of the customs and much of the ceremonial of Westminster, indicating how these have developed into what they are to-day. He recounts anecdotes of the great services in which he has had a part to play and of the personages with whom he has had to work. All this is recorded in the author's own inimitable way. We are never left in any doubt as to what side Dr Perkins was on in any controversy, and the book abounds in pungent comment both on personalities and events. But the overwhelming impression which is left is one of unswerving and devoted service to the Abbey. Dr

Perkins has taken the Abbey to his heart. He knows and loves every stone, every tradition, and this book indicates over and over again that the respect and admiration which the Abbey commands among ecclesiologists of the English church to-day is in no small measure due to the work and personality of Dr Perkins.

J. ROBINSON

MANSON ON MORALS

ETHICS AND THE GOSPEL. By T. W. MANSON. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Manson died in 1958 and this is therefore a posthumous publication. It contains the substance of a series of lectures delivered as an Extra Mural course, primarily for the intelligent layman. Canon Ronald Preston undertook the difficult task of preparing the typescript material for publication, as only a small part of the revision had been done by Professor Manson himself before his death. The book is thus a sketch of a much larger book, but indicates sufficiently the way in which Dr Manson's mind was working on the theme of ethics.

For the most part it consists of a survey of the biblical material, with special reference to the Mosaic law, the teaching of our Lord, and the situation in the Apostolic Church. The heart of the matter was that ethics was not concerned with the nature of the good or the categorical imperative but with certain concrete ways of obedience required of man in response to the will of God. Those who are familiar with Dr Manson's exact scholarship will know how carefully he examines the evidence and what light he throws on both words and teachings. One of his valuable insights is that "Torah" is ill translated by "Law". It is rather "guidance, teaching, and the royal road to life". In the present dialogue between Jews and Christians this is one of the essential points for elucidation. For Dr Manson the power of the Christian ethic is represented in a living Person and a living Body and the achievement of Christian ethics is always something new and original—it is a response to Christ, "a work of art".

MARCUS KNIGHT